





# Emerging U.S.-Peking Alliance May Have Profound Effect on Global, Asian Reality

By Don Oberdorfer  
Washington Post Service

MANILA — The momentous result of the mission to Peking by Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. was the revelation that the United States is now prepared to sell arms to China. But officials in Mr. Haig's party insisted Wednesday that, in the long run, strategic collaboration on a broad range of anti-Soviet ventures may be just as important.

According to Mr. Haig and the authorized lexicon of U.S. diplomacy, China remains a friendly nonaligned country cooperating with the United States, rather than simply a U.S. ally. Nonetheless, the extraordinary range and depth of proposed cooperation suggests an emerging alliance.

How far the United States should go with military aid to China has been a debated question within the U.S. government for

years. The answer, which emerged with increasing clarity on Mr. Haig's trip, could have profound effect on global and Asian reality.

The administration has decided to invite a Chinese military mission next month that apparently

will bring a shopping list. This came as a surprise to reporters accompanying the secretary of state, one reason being that they were told in a June 5 briefing that there have been no decisions with respect to the provision of arms to China.

Aboard Mr. Haig's plane en route from Peking to Manila on Wednesday, the famous senior official who speaks authoritatively on such background statements insisted that the earlier statement is

still true. "We've made no decision on the provision of arms to People's Republic of China, none," he declared.

**Far-Reaching Decision**

This is technically correct in the sense of a decision on a specific purchase order, because none has yet been requested. It is also a fact that the decision to entertain China's military requests reverses previous U.S. policy and is a basic decision of fundamental and far-reaching importance.

The decision might well have been taken by the Democratic administration had President Carter been re-elected. While it had been simmering in the bureaucracy for a longer time, it is reported to have been concluded with little hesitation in about a week of National Security Council deliberations before Mr. Haig left.

The Reagan administration has

## NEWS ANALYSIS

One possibility is co-production agreements allowing China to build weapons at home under U.S. license. Whatever may be the actual Chinese purchases, it is clear that a long time will pass before there is a major impact on the Chinese-Soviet military balance. More important in the short run is the political and symbolic significance.

Not only the Soviet Union but China's non-Communist neighbors will be deeply affected, politically if not militarily. The list of concerned nations includes Japan, the Southeast Asian countries that are currently meeting here in Manila, and India [which is also affected by the new U.S. military buildup of Pakistan, its traditional enemy]. Several of these friendly countries, at least, were not informed before the decision despite Reagan administration promises of full consultation.

The potential for strategic coordination and cooperation in mutual Chinese-American interest, which is a strong point of official appraisals of the results of Mr. Haig's trip, is difficult to judge. There have been hints, but little more, of military cooperation by the two countries in Afghanistan and Cambodia to match the political cooperation that is being freely proclaimed by the U.S. side.

The continuation of Sino-American cooperation of any sort depends on satisfactory management of the touchy Taiwan issue. Avoidance of a breach on this issue is far from assured. The Chinese apparently talked very bluntly to Mr. Haig on this matter, especially the proposed U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.

basically thought through the question of what arms it will be willing to sell, reporters were told, but nothing was disclosed. The most likely, at least to start, appear to be those that could buttress Chinese defenses on the Soviet border, where the Kremlin deploys perhaps one-fourth of its forces. China is also interested in modernizing its air force of 6,000 largely obsolete combat aircraft.

Giving higher priority to economic development, China recently reduced its defense budget by about 20 percent despite the Soviet military presence, and it is uncertain where China will obtain funds to purchase large amounts of American weaponry. Officials will not say whether they plan to ask that China become eligible for U.S. military sales credits, a form of aid from which it is apparently now barred by law as a Communist country.

Co-Production Agreements

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## ASEAN Urges Vietnam to Help Defuse Soviet-Chinese Tensions in Indochina

By William Branigan  
Washington Post Service

MANILA — Five non-Communist countries of Southeast Asia warned Vietnam Wednesday against allowing Indochina to become a theater of Chinese-Soviet conflict and urged Vietnamese participation in a conference scheduled in New York next month on the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

Opening a conference of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the foreign ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand held out the prospect of economic cooperation to help rebuild Vietnam's economy in return for withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia.

The foreign minister of the Philippines, Gen. Carlos Romulo, who is chairing the conference, said the Cambodian situation "has projected the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Vietnamese disputes into the heart of Southeast Asia's regional politics."

Singapore's foreign minister, S. P. Rajasingham, painted a pic-

ture of increasing economic hardship in Vietnam and growing dependence on the Soviet Union as a result of Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia in December, 1978. He said the invasion "allowed Indochina to become the cockpit of the Sino-Soviet conflict."

Mr. Dhanabalan said the ASEAN countries want a "stable and prosperous Vietnam," adding, "But we must insist that Vietnam withdraws from Kampuchea so that opportunities do not exist for the external powers to meddle in the destinies of the region once again."

"Vietnam's future well-being lies in cooperation with ASEAN," he said. "The choice is Vietnam's."

Brushing aside the refusal this week by Vietnam and Laos to attend the United Nations-sponsored conference that starts July 13 in New York, the ASEAN foreign ministers left the door open for a last-minute change of mind. They indicated that a follow-up conference might be held later and that Vietnam would be given another chance to participate.

All five foreign ministers appealed for Vietnamese participation in next month's international conference, amid expressions of concern that the conflict in Cambodia could spread.

The opening of the ASEAN meeting coincided with the arrival in Manila of Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., who is to confer with the foreign ministers Friday and Saturday. In an arrival statement at Manila airport, Mr. Haig said his talks would "focus on the dangerous activities of Vietnam with the encouragement and with the support of the Soviet Union," as well as on the Cambodian situation and the UN conference.

ment in the United States of Indochinese refugees. The officials said Mr. Haig intends to assure Southeast Asian authorities that a U.S. domestic dispute that has been delaying resettlement was recently resolved and that Washington will stand by previous commitments on refugees.

The Malaysian foreign minister, Tengku Ahmad Rihauddin, said at the conference that "fresh arrivals in recent months of Vietnamese illegal immigrants in alarming numbers have once again revived serious concern and worries on our part." He said the problem "has been aggravated by the reduced rate of departures, and he asked resettlement countries for continued help.

## Senate Approves Care for Victims Of Agent Orange

WASHINGTON — The Senate, in a 98-0 vote Tuesday, approved federal financing medical treatment for Vietnam War veterans who were exposed to the defoliant Agent Orange. Similar legislation was approved in the House two weeks earlier.

The Senate amendment to a \$232-million bill reauthorizing several Veterans Administration programs also contains a measure to provide medical care for veterans exposed to radiation during nuclear weapons tests in the 1940s and 1950s.

"We sent dedicated, capable servicemen and women to Southeast Asia," said Sen. James R. Sasser, a Tennessee Democrat. "We have asked servicemen to participate in atmospheric nuclear tests, we have conducted defense-related experiments on human subjects. These veterans now suffer from a variety of diseases and disabilities. We should provide an adequate level of medical care to these veterans now."

Agent Orange was a defoliant sprayed by the Air Force on Vietnamese farmlands and jungles to destroy hiding places and food for the adversary. Veterans have asserted that the chemical has caused cancer and other disabilities.

**U.S. Pressures**

A senior U.S. official said the United States would "continue to apply" political, diplomatic and other pressures on Vietnam to end its two-and-a-half-year occupation of Cambodia. Mr. Haig declined to say what pressures Washington had in mind. The possibility of military aid to anti-Vietnamese groups in Cambodia was left in doubt.

The Cambodian issue dominated ASEAN's opening session, but the foreign ministers issued a joint condemnation of Israel's June 7 raid on Iraqi nuclear installations. Calling the attack "unwarranted" and a "serious violation of the United Nations charter and international law," ASEAN expressed "grave concern that this dangerous and irresponsible act would escalate existing tensions in the area and pose a serious threat to international peace and security."

Among other issues likely to come up in Mr. Haig's consultations, U.S. officials said, is resettlement

**U.S. Differs With Israel**

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said, adding that visual inspections by IAEA personnel had revealed no such blanket.

A second way for Iraq to make plutonium at Osirak, Dr. Eklund said, would be to locate a similar blanket of natural uranium directly beneath the reactor so that neutrons produced in the reactor would turn the isotope U-238, which is abundantly present in natural uranium, into another isotope, U-239, which would then "decay" naturally into an isotope of plutonium called Pu-239 that is an optimal material for atomic weapons.

**'Easily Detected'**

"The production of plutonium in this manner is practically impossible, since the core is placed on a thick concrete slab, which in turn is lined with heavy steel plate," Dr. Eklund said.

"In such a transparent pool reactor as Osirak," Dr. Eklund said, "the presence of undeclared fertile fuel elements (the uranium blanket) for plutonium production would be easily detected," Dr. Eklund said.

He said that a third way for the Iraqis to make nuclear weapons at Osirak would be by complete diversion of the enriched uranium fuel supplied by France to fuel the reactor. He dismissed this possibility, saying that IAEA inspectors had examined the 26 pounds of fuel shipped to Osirak and found it intact without any signs of tampering. The fuel was in sealed bundles, he said, whose weight can be precisely checked, and the seals can be examined to see if they have been broken.

"May I end by saying," Dr. Eklund concluded, "that the presence of a large number of technicians from the country which delivered the reactor could also be expected to provide some assurance."

## Unesco Press Unit Approves Consensus

PARIS — Western countries secured a key objective at a 35-nation Unesco communications conference Wednesday when a reference to seeking consensus in deliberations was included in the rules of procedure.

The conference, called to set up a new International Program for the Development of Communications in Third World countries, said decisions by the governing council would be taken by majority vote but reaching a consensus before voting should be a priority.

Speaking for the nonaligned group of 77 countries, Gabon opposed the consensus principle because it maintained this would amount to a Western veto.

The West, led by the United States, wanted a specific reference to consensus in the rules to prevent what it sees as essentially a technical conference from straying into ideological issues such as press freedom or global information flow.

The dispute began Tuesday night after the conference, which now will be extended into next week, spent two days disagreeing over the selection of a chairman and executive council.

Gunnar Garbo, 57, of Norway, a former newspaper editor and an executive board member of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, was elected to head the council. The IPDC will

be started with \$1.75 million from Paris-based Unesco, its sponsoring agency.

The six countries approved as members of the executive board are Mexico, Iraq, India, France, the Soviet Union and Benin.

It took another day of discussion, much of it behind the scenes.

**Majlis Sets Debate Date**

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through the Supreme Court, which Ayatollah Beheshti heads.

Article 110 of the 1979 constitution defines one of the duties of the revolutionary leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, as:

"The dismissal of the president due to considerations of national interest after such decision has been issued by the Supreme Court affirming the president's disobedience of official duties or the assembly has voted for the political incompetence of the president."

Quake Toll Puts at 1,027

NICOSIA (AP) — The death toll in the earthquake in southeastern Iran was 1,027, Iran's news agency said Wednesday.

The agency said the figure was announced by the commission investigating the quake that hit Golestan, 300 miles southeast of Tehran, last Thursday. "The mass media has exaggerated the number of casualties," the commission statement added.

Tehran Radio announced Sunday that the casualty toll had risen to 2,000 dead and 1,700 wounded

before a compromise on the rules was reached.

William G. Hanley, head of the U.S. delegation, said the rules would not be acceptable unless there was a reference to consensus, which the Unesco secretary omitted from the draft.

In what was unanimously described by French commentators as a landslide, the Socialists won a position indicating they could take an absolute majority in the 491-seat house. It would be the first single-party majority since that of the Gaullists in 1968.

Mr. Mitterrand said that if the Socialists won "the largest possible base," then all their campaign pledges could be carried out.

**Entebbe Claims Reported Settled**

(The Associated Press)

TEL AVIV — Israeli survivors of the 1976 hijacking of an Air France airliner to Uganda have reached an out-of-court settlement with the airline amounting to more than \$1 million, the Jerusalem Post reported Wednesday.

In Paris, an Air France spokesman said, "We don't deny the story in the Israeli press that a settlement has been reached, and was reached recently." The Post said the accord covered claims of 67 former hostages and heirs of the four civilians killed when Israeli commandos stormed the Entebbe airport in a daring rescue operation.

The Post said the settlement was reached May 14, after five years of litigation. The Air France Airbus with 245 passengers was hijacked June 27, 1976, by German and Palestinian guerrillas in Athens. Non-Israeli passengers were released unharmed.



**CAUTIOUS GUARD** — A Somali soldier keeps watch over an unexploded bomb in the village of Baadwein about 100 kilometers (60 miles) from the Ethiopian border. Ethiopian jets recently attacked the village and several others, killing 30 persons and injuring 53, Somali sources reported. Ethiopia and Somalia fought a war in 1977-78 over control of the Ogaden region and remain adversaries.

## Poland's Baltic Neighbors Plan for Possible Refugees

By Leonard Downie Jr.  
Washington Post Service

LONDON — As the strains between Warsaw and Moscow continue, Poland's two Western neighbors — Denmark and Sweden — have made extraordinary contingency plans for protecting their territorial waters and assisting Polish refugees who might flee across the Baltic Sea if an invasion occurs.

Military leaders in both countries say they are prepared to use force to protect refugees who reach their waters.

Debates in the two countries about new five-year military spending plans have been influenced by the months of labor and political turmoil in Poland and the resulting increase in East-West tensions.

Diplomats in neutral Sweden and in Denmark, a member of NATO, have monitored developments in Poland particularly closely. They believe that what happens there could affect them much more than past upheavals in Eastern Europe.

"Poland is much closer to us geographically than Czechoslovakia or Hungary," said a diplomat in Sweden, where tens of thousands of Polish tourists visit each year. "There is just a short stretch of water between us."

Since late last year, Sweden and Denmark have increased air and naval patrols of their Baltic coasts. On the Danish island of Bornholm, 78 miles (125 kilometers) from Poland, and on the Swedish coast, only about twice as far away, contingency plans have been made to turn resort hotels, schools and other large buildings into refugee centers.

Swedish and Danish officials said they do not want to appear to be anticipating a Soviet invasion of Poland.

"We do not want to announce that we are prepared because we do not want to push things in Poland," a Scandinavian diplomat said. "We hope there will not be any intervention, and if there is we don't know what form it would take or whether there would be many refugees. But we have to be prepared for the worst case scenario."

## Reagan Seen As Unsure

(Continued from Page 1)

that particular question ... I'll have to think about that."

He seemed unaware of the international inspection provisions of the treaty, for he commented that it was "something that doesn't lend itself to verification."

Although he was careful not to prejudice the administration's review of the Israeli raid and its potential legal implications for future American arms sales, Mr. Reagan clearly showed sympathy for Israel when he said that "Israel might have sincerely believed it was a defensive move."

"It is difficult for me to envision Israel as being a threat to its neighbors," he added.

Both statements are likely to comfort Israel and rattle the Arabs at a time when senior advisers have been counseling Mr. Reagan to be carefully evasive.

His comments about the Israeli confrontation with Syria over its surface-to-air missile sites in Lebanon caused the White House press office to issue a correction after the press conference. Mr. Reagan called the missiles "offensive weapons," seeming to side with the Israeli contention. But the White House later said Mr. Reagan had misspoken and had meant to call the Syrian missiles in Lebanon "defensive weapons."

## Irish Laborites Elect O'Leary As New Leader

(The Associated Press)

DUBLIN — In a step that could help determine the makeup of Ireland's next government, the opposition Labor Party elected Michael O'Leary, a European Parliament deputy, as its new leader Wednesday.

Mr. O'Leary, a former union official, was one of 15 Labor candidates to win seats in last week's general election June 11, which produced a stalemate between the major parties. He said he would resign his seat in Strasbourg to take over the Labor leadership from Frank Cluskey, who lost in the general election.

Mr. O'Leary, 45, favors forming a coalition with the opposition Fine Gael Party, which won 65 seats in the 166-seat Dail (parliament). A special Labor Party conference Sunday is expected to give Mr. O'Leary approval for talks with Fine Gael leader Garret FitzGerald.

Prime Minister Charles J. Haughey's ruling Fianna Fail Party won only 78 seats in last week's election, but is expected to fight to remain in office with the informal help of independent deputies.

The other eight seats were won by independents, members of small parties and two Irish Republican Army guerrillas imprisoned in Northern Ireland.

# Poland's Poet Milosz Hailed on Returning From 30-Year Exile

By John Damton  
New York Times Service

WARSAW — "Language is the only homeland," wrote Czeslaw Milosz, the Nobel laureate. Poets, like politicians, can be wrong.

Mr. Milosz returned to Poland on June 5 for a two-week visit, ending nearly 30 years of self-imposed exile. During that period his works, except for a few, scant verses from prewar times, were banned from official publications, and he was regarded by the Communist authorities as persona non grata and an enemy of a dangerous sort — of the pen.

Now, he is a national hero.

From the moment of his arrival, the 69-year-old author has drawn huge crowds. He has been winoed and dined at government receptions in former royal palaces and has appeared almost nightly on television, where a year ago his name could not even be mentioned.

"He never expected such a greeting," said a member of his family, a niece, who resides here.

"Poles have a strong need for symbols at the moment, for leaders other than from the party. Hence Walesa, the pope, Wyszynski and Milosz," she added.



Czeslaw Milosz

**Bouquets of Roses**

Mr. Milosz cuts a stately figure as he moves through the adulation, tall as a king, but he seems reserved, puzzled. At times tears come to his eyes, but he rarely smiles. His two-week visit had been planned as something of a private affair, a poet's reconciliation with his past, not a statesman's journey.

"The reception is overwhelming and even surpasses all my expectations," he said, sitting but not really relaxing on a couch in the apartment of his brother, Andrzej Milosz. Bouquets of roses lined the floorboards. Outside, photographers and a film crew were waiting.

On the walls around him were ancestral portraits from his original hometown, known to the Poles as Wilno, but since World War II part of Soviet Lithuania under the name of Vilnius.

Becoming a national symbol, Mr. Milosz observed, is disconcerting. "It is hard to maintain one's natural behavior," he said. "It is quite a heavy burden psychologically. I never thought about such a role imposed upon me, against my inclination and even against my nature."

For explanations, he searches for historical precedents, the partitions of the 18th century when the Romantic poets, most of them also writing from exile, kept the Polish language alive and nationalism burning.

"It goes back in Polish literature, this peculiar place of a Polish bard," he said. "It is a motif from the past — poets who formulated collective aspirations. The paradox is that I am a private person, and I am thrown into a role that is contradictory for me."

Mr. Milosz had not been in Poland since December, 1951. He served as cultural officer in the Polish Embassy in Paris, then cut his ties to the Communist Party and lived in Paris until 1958, when he settled permanently in the United States. He is a professor of Slavic literature at the University of

California, Berkeley. Although fluent in English and French, he composes his poetry only in Polish. Since his work had been prohibited, it is not widely known in Poland. But books smuggled from Paris and the painstaking efforts of illegal publishing houses have kept it alive for an influential group of writers and intellectuals.

Now his poetry is published openly by government publishing houses. But "The Captive Mind," a collection of essays on intellectual capitulation before totalitarianism, will probably remain banned.

Mr. Milosz was especially moved by an evening at a student center, where he found that young people could sometimes recite his poetry from memory.

During the session with the students, he asked to avoid all political topics, a stipulation that carried over to this interview.

When asked about his impressions of Warsaw, he concentrates on physical changes — new buildings and boulevards, the reconstruction of the Old Town.

"My impression is I am in a city I have never been in before," he said. "The proportions are all different."

He was also struck, he said, by "the human temperature."

"It is the temperature of a collectivity and it is in such a contrast with the temperature in Western cities," he said.

The Poles, he said, made "a peculiar adaptation to a dangerous life."

"At the moment, the situation is again very tense, and there is a quiet acceptance of permanent danger," he said. It was the only comment that ventured into political territory and he retreated quickly.

Last Thursday he received an honorary degree from the Catholic University at Lublin. Across town, by coincidence, the Solidarity union's national commission was in session, and this led to the inevitable meeting — between Mr. Milosz and Lech Walesa, the union leader. They hit it off. Mr. Walesa invited the poet to visit him in Gdansk and Mr. Milosz agreed.

Asked whether he would write about his experiences in Poland of 1981, he replied, with an eye on the tributes ahead. "My present goal is to survive."

## WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

**Spanish Divorce Bill Approved by Senate**

MADRID — Spaniards are closer to being able to obtain divorces, which have been illegal in Spain since 1939, following the approval by the Senate of a divorce bill.

But because of an amendment attached to the bill Tuesday by conservatives — empowering magistrates to refuse divorce when they believe it could seriously harm the children or one spouse — the bill must return to the Congress of Deputies for final approval. Justice Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez said 30 extra courts would be set up to handle an expected 500,000 divorce suits.

Wednesday, the Spanish Communist Party introduced in parliament a bill to legalize abortion during the first 90 days of pregnancy. Women having abortions now face up to six years in jail; those who perform the operation can be jailed for up to 12 years. Communist leader Santiago Carrillo told a news conference that there are as many as 500,000 clandestine abortions in Spain every year.

**U.S. Air Controllers, FAA Break Off Talks**

WASHINGTON — Informal talks broke off Wednesday between the Federal Aviation Administration and the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, heightening the possibility of a strike Monday.

The two sides had been meeting informally — without their full bargaining teams — with a federal mediator since last Monday. Formal negotiations broke off April 28.

A strike could hamper air traffic nationwide, grounding almost all private flights; but the FAA has worked out plans to keep most long-working conditions. As Civil Service employees, controllers' salaries and hours are set by Congress.

**Soweto Commuters Return Quietly to Work**

JOHANNESBURG — Black commuters streamed into Johannesburg Wednesday apparently without incident after a day of sporadic violence in the Soweto township where they live. There was sharp criticism of thousands of mixed-race townships.

Thousands of mixed-race, or colored, students in western Johannesburg and in Cape Town boycotted classes for the third day to protest police brutality against student demonstrators earlier this month and to commemorate the 1976 uprising in which about 700 blacks died.

Tuesday's violence in Soweto, about 10 miles southwest of Johannesburg, was linked to an observance of unrest that erupted June 16, 1976, during a student protest against education policies and spread around the nation.

**Marcos' Foes Claim Philippine Voting Rigged**

MANILA — Ferdinand E. Marcos, assured of an overwhelming victory in the Philippines' first presidential elections in 12 years, spoke premier while his opponents said that Tuesday's balloting was rigged.

With just over half the results in from the 7,100 islands that make up the nation, Mr. Marcos' total was hovering at 87.25 percent of the vote despite an opposition boycott of the election.

The United Democratic Opposition, which participated in the boycott, said the election result was predetermined. The group gave examples of what it said was election fraud, including turnout increases of registered voters and officials filling in blank slips at the end of the day.

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# U.S., Iraqi Envoys at UN Discuss Compromise Resolution on Raid

By Michael J. Berlin  
Washington Post Service  
UNITED NATIONS — The U.S. delegate to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and the Iraqi foreign minister, Sadoun Hammadi, met several times Wednesday in last-ditch negotiations to find a compromise UN resolution that would condemn Israel's attack on an Iraqi nuclear reactor without imposing sanctions on Israel.

land — made clear they, too, might vote against a call for sanctions, or abstain at the very least.

Compensation

As a further inducement to compromise, Western diplomats said, the United States has told Iraq that Washington could accept a resolution calling on Israel to pay compensation for the damage and urging the Israelis to open their own nuclear facilities to international inspection and safeguards by adhering to the Nonproliferation Treaty. Israel has already rejected compensation.

It remains unclear whether this would be enough of a diplomatic trophy for Mr. Hammadi to take home to Baghdad. No diplomat claimed to know how far Iraq would go to modify its demands for sanctions.

The Irish delegate, Noel Dorr, said he had drafted some "language" that could be used to bridge the gap, but added that "what is needed is not words, it's politics."

# Peru Counting on Lenders To Back New Development

By Cynthia Gorney  
Washington Post Service  
LIMA — Three years ago, with their foreign reserves in the red and the national economy on the edge of bankruptcy, Peruvian officials turned to the international banking community and did some very serious bargaining.

Some of their deals were bitterly attacked on the home front, but the Peruvian leaders got what they wanted: the International Monetary Fund put up a \$300 million emergency standby credit, in exchange for a Peruvian austerity program that cut wages and public spending, laid off government employees, despoiled the Peruvian oil, cut back on plans for more foreign debt and dropped subsidies on food and gasoline.

U.S. officials continued to insist they would veto a text that contained even an oblique reference to the UN Charter articles under which sanctions are imposed.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick, who has still not spoken in the five-day-long Security Council debate, told reporters Wednesday afternoon that "the speech is a lot less important than finding a consensus resolution."

Public and private bankers, after listening to the Peruvians present their case, agreed to give them two years' relief from the total \$1.6 billion debt that was coming due in 1979 and 1980. For the next two years, the bankers agreed, the Peruvians would have to pay back only 10 percent per year of the massive obligation.

Her remarks came after her second meeting with Mr. Hammadi, which took place in an anteroom alongside the Security Council chamber as the speeches droned on. By Wednesday night more than 50 nations had spoken, all of them critical of the Israeli action.

By 1980, the Peruvians had startled almost everyone concerned by jumping the deadline on their own debt. Convincing their creditors to give up millions of dollars in interest and commissions, the Peruvians waived one full year of their debt relief and paid up early. For the organization of governments and leading agencies that had met in Paris and helped arrange Peru's rollovers, the prepayment may

There was no expectation that a vote by the 15-nation council would take place before Thursday. Mr. Hammadi has said he has firm plans to leave New York Friday.

Among Thursday's scheduled speakers is Sigvard Eklund, director-general of the UN's International Atomic Energy Agency, who has challenged Israel's claim that the Iraqi reactor could have been used in the production of atomic weapons.

# Poll Shows Gain For Begin Party Since Iraq Raid

TEL AVIV — Prime Minister Menachem Begin's Likud Bloc increased its support among Israeli voters to 38 percent, a rise of 4 percentage points after Israeli jets bombed Iraq's nuclear reactor, according to a poll published Wednesday.

The preliminary reports from the Paris meeting, which showed considerable interest by lenders in much of the development plan, are an indication of how radically the country's international economic picture has changed in the last three years. Foreign reserves and export earnings have soared, and the country has maintained an enormously improved credit rating since it prepaid so much of its international debt.

Another poll, published by the Jerusalem Post, showed that fewer than 7.1 percent of 1,243 respondents favor going to war to force Syria to remove ground-to-air missiles from Lebanon near the Israeli border, with a majority of those polled favoring a diplomatic resolution.

The Ma'ariv poll, conducted by Israel's leading pollster, Hanoch Smith, was taken between June 4 and June 11. Most respondents were interviewed just after the June 7 raid on the Iraqi reactor.

What happened, economic observers believe, was a combination of IMF-imposed austerity, sudden large increases in the world price of Peru's export crops and minerals and a surge in Peru's oil production just as the price of oil was shooting up.

"To what extent their big success was due to the IMF stabilization program, or, on the other hand, to the fortuitous increase in mineral and export prices, I don't know," a foreign economist said. "They had a right to be proud of it, but they tend to emphasize more their astute fiscal and financial wizardry, and downplay the fortuitous minerals and petroleum picture."

# Oklahoma Penal Officials Overlook Execution Date

OKLAHOMA CITY — Everybody forgot that convicted murderer James William White was supposed to die by lethal injection Monday. Late Tuesday a judge who learned of the missed execution issued a stay.

that White was awaiting execution, and Judge Brett issued the stay," she said. "Judge Brett was quite concerned about this."

Mr. White was convicted on Feb. 24 at Jay, Okla., for the murders of his former girlfriend and her newlywed husband near Colcord, Okla., in June, 1980. He was sentenced on March 18 and was placed on death row in Oklahoma State Prison at McAlester on March 27.

# Spanish Premier To Meet in Paris With Mitterrand

PARIS — Spanish Premier Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo will confer with French President Francois Mitterrand here July 2 on the issue of violence in the Basque region, Elysee Secretary-General Pierre Boregoy said Wednesday.

The Spanish premier will also review progress in negotiations concerning Spain's entry into the European Economic Community and seek French support for Spanish membership in the Atlantic alliance.

The talks will follow discussions in Madrid last week between French Minister of External Relations Claude Cheysson and Mr. Calvo Sotelo during which Mr. Cheysson pledged that France would help Spain fight terrorism.



CALIFORNIA BLAZE — A helicopter dropped fire retardant on flames that threatened homes in the Elysian Park section of Los Angeles. Other brushfires burned more than 35,000 acres and destroyed more than three dozen homes and buildings in Southern California as record temperatures rose above 100 degrees Fahrenheit for the fourth day Wednesday.

# House Assails U.S. on Baby Food Vote, Urges Industry to Observe WHO Code

By Margot Hornblower and Philip J. Hiltz  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The House on Tuesday approved a nonbinding resolution condemning the administration's vote against an ethical code for marketing baby formula in Third World countries.

The joint resolution, which passed 301-100, urges the administration to cooperate with other nations in implementing the World Health Organization code and asks the baby food industry to abide by the code's voluntary guidelines.

deaths a year in underdeveloped countries.

The resolution, which also requires Senate approval, follows shortly on the withdrawal of Ernest W. Lefever as the administration's nominee for assistant secretary of state for human rights. Mr. Lefever was criticized for accepting funds from Nestle Corp., a leading baby food maker, while attacking the formula code through his nonprofit policy center.

He said that mothers who give up breast-feeding or who must supplement breast-feeding with other foods often get poor information about what is needed to keep children from becoming malnourished.

He and other leaders of formula-making companies said that they would abide by the code, but they expressed skepticism that many countries would adopt it whole.

# Saudi Arabia Urges Respect of Ramadan

BAHRAIN — Non-Muslims in Saudi Arabia have been warned that they risked "swift deprivation" including imprisonment and deportation if they were found eating, drinking or smoking in public during the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan.

Proponents, however, emphasized the resolution's voluntary nature, and as many Republicans as Democrats spoke in its favor.

For Sake of Profits

"Nothing could be more unfortunate than for our country to have come out against 'motherhood' in Third World countries and for what many perceive — rightly or wrongly — to be nothing less than child killing. All for the sake, we are told, of Madison Avenue free speech and greater corporate profits," said Rep. Jim Leach, R-Iowa.

The code is designed to limit the promotion of baby food by women dressed in nursing uniforms, the use of advertising disguised as educational materials, company payoffs to health professionals and promotional posters in health clinics equating progress with formula feeding.

Breast-feeding, the resolution states, "has substantial advantages for infant health... offers an uncontaminated food supply, an early transfer of antibodies protective against infectious diseases, and a naturally evolved and tested nutritional source... it is an important factor in bonding between mother and child."

# Million Deaths a Year

The resolution cited studies contending that the use of baby formula, mixed with polluted water, placed in dirty bottles and contaminated by flies and tropical heat, accounts for up to a million infant

Meanwhile, representatives of the baby formula industry defended their decision.

"This code has the potential to

# Envoy to El Salvador Predicts Long Strife

WASHINGTON POST SERVICE  
SAN SALVADOR — The government of El Salvador is a considerable time away from ending the fighting against guerrillas despite substantial recent increases in U.S. military aid, according to U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton.

found throughout the country, the government said. No group claimed responsibility, but police said that extreme rightist groups decapitate victims.

Four bodies were not beheaded, and bore bullet wounds, leading police to speculate that they were violators of the curfew who had been shot by the military.

At the same time, Mr. Hinton said Tuesday, in his first interview since arriving here less than two months ago, that the human rights situation that has drawn criticism in the United States "continues to be bad, but it's better than it was."

Fighting Going On

Residents in the northern province of Chalatenango, for two years a guerrilla stronghold, said Tuesday that heavy fighting was still going on between leftists and government forces in the town of Arcatao, which the rebels claimed to have captured last week. There was no comment from the government, but military spokesmen said two guerrilla ambushes on troop convoys north of the capital killed five soldiers, wounded four and left at least six guerrillas dead.

Mr. Hinton painted a picture of the Salvadoran conflict that was somewhat along lines the Reagan administration has followed for the last several months — the situation is not good, but it seems to be improving.

PCB Dump Sites Searched for In 2 U.S. States

The Associated Press

WAUKEGAN, Ill. — Up to 8 million pounds of poisonous chemicals known as PCBs were dumped in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin during the last 30 years, and the exact whereabouts is unknown, according to U.S. government officials.

To Prevent Insurrection

"Putting trainers" in El Salvador, Mr. Hinton said in reference to approximately 50 U.S. military advisers now training Salvadoran troops, "made perfectly clear that the commitment of the U.S. government to see to it that the junta is not taken over by an armed insurrection supported from Havana, from Managua or anywhere else."

PCBs have been uncovered at a playground in this northern Illinois city of 65,000, in the well water of one family and in sufficient quantity to create very high contamination of a creek that flows into Lake Michigan, the source of drinking water for 10 million people.

The random dumping occurred before the government banned manufacture of PCBs, polychlorinated biphenyls, in 1977 as a suspected cause of cancer, birth defects and other health problems. It has been used in the United States since 1929, mainly as a lubricant and coolant in industrial machinery and electrical equipment.

He said nobody would pretend that the human rights situation is what it should be — "neither the military commanders I have talked to nor the civilian members of the junta." Still, he said, they are trying to stop the killings of non-combatants in the civil war that last year took an estimated 10,000 lives.

"I will continue to pursue human rights, particularly those involving American citizens where we have a direct interest, but I will do it quietly, not planning any press conferences to denounce anything or anybody," he said.

U.S. officials have known for years that up to 2 million pounds of PCBs were dumped by Outboard Marine Corp., which makes boat engines, into Waukegan harbor, 25 miles north of Chicago, but only recently have they joined local efforts to track down millions of pounds of the chemical that were apparently dumped on land. The dumping in the harbor has been linked to dangerous levels of PCBs in fish.

14 Civilians Killed

SAN SALVADOR (UPI) — At least 14 civilians are the latest victims in El Salvador's political violence, including six youths who died in a seven-hour night battle in a San Salvador suburb, authorities reported Tuesday.

In addition, twenty bodies, most of them decapitated, have been

# U.S. to Continue to Seek Whaling Ban

Philip B. Shabecoff  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration will continue U.S. support for a moratorium on commercial whaling and will "strongly press" for such a ban at next month's meeting of the International Whaling Commission in England, according to an administration spokesman.

fourths of the 27 member nations of the commission must vote for the moratorium but that 10 members have commercial whaling industries.

When the subcommittee chairman, Rep. Don L. Bonker, Democrat of Washington, asked whether the United States would exercise leadership at the commission meeting, Mr. Walsh noted that a leader had not been named for the U.S. delegation, even though the meeting is to open July 20. He said that while the head of the NOAA traditionally has headed the delegation, Mr. Reagan's nominee for

the post, John Burns, would not be sworn in soon enough.

Mr. Walsh added, however, that the delegation probably "will have leadership shortly." Interior Secretary James G. Watt has proposed that Tom Garrett, an environmentalist and expert on whales, be named for the job. Mr. Garrett has broad bipartisan political support.

The moratorium was opposed at the hearing by a spokesman for the Japan Whaling Association, Alan Mienow, who said that "there is currently, no species or identified stock of whales anywhere in the world in danger of being depleted by commercial whaling activities." He noted that current commercial whale-catch quotas were less than one-third their level of eight years ago.

Mr. Walsh cautioned in his testimony, however, that even with strong pressure from the United States, it would be difficult to get the commission to agree to the moratorium. He noted that three-

Plane Hits Roof in U.S.

SILOUX FALLS, S.D. — A light plane crashed through the roof of a drug company in an industrial complex Tuesday, killing a pregnant woman and injuring three others. Authorities said nine persons were in the building at the time, but none were injured.

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# Arms for Almost Everybody

All within 24 hours the Reagan administration has made new arms-supply arrangements with two Asian countries, China and Pakistan, with the Red Army on their borders. The purpose of the deals is to better limit Soviet expansionism — not simply by providing the means but by adding the encouragement of friends and the supposed deterrence of foes that go with any arms transfer. At the same time, these deals deepen the American commitment to regimes of independent purpose and uncertain staying power and draw the United States further into their respective regional whirlpools. Add American efforts to strengthen Japan's defense policy: The whole American posture in Asia is being transformed.

China had previously been limited to "military support equipment" and to technology with civilian as well as military uses. Now it is being notched up the arms-supply ladder and enabled to buy "lethal weapons." The symbolic value of this step is considerable. Its practical meaning will depend on Chinese requests and American case-by-case responses evidently not yet worked out. A measured pace seems wise. Major adjustments on the Washington-Moscow-Peking triangle are deadly serious.

Presumably, Secretary of State Haig and his hosts in Peking agreed that the sight of expanded Chinese-American cooperation would give the Russians pause in Poland, Af-

ghanistan and elsewhere. The trick is, of course, not to convince them inadvertently they have nothing further to gain from restraint. The way in which the new tie is knotted will be all-important. The Taiwan angle, meanwhile, remains sharp.

Pakistan was cut off from American arms in 1979 on account of its nuclear weapons program. Subsequently, it became Exhibit A in the new administration's case that "well-intentioned" efforts to influence the human rights or nuclear policies of friendly nations undercut American strategic interests. Now, just as the proliferation problem is spotlighted, a \$3 billion military-economic assistance package is announced for what may be the next nuclear power. The timing is appalling, even if you accept the argument that a general security embrace will do more to slow proliferation than specific anti-proliferation pressures. Whether the new deal will end up adding to Gen. Zia's strengths or his cares, moreover, is a question. If he is an appealing strategic bet, he is a risky political one.

In the substance of its arms-transfer policy, the Reagan administration is reversing the original Carter approach. It shares, however, a confidence that transfers can be used effectively for larger policy purposes. Watch out. Arms transfers are a well-trampled field of policy. What gets trampled are the certainties each new administration brings to it.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

# Spain's Social Contract

The social contract painstakingly worked out between the Spanish government, two rival unions and Spain's employers' federation is a noteworthy achievement and, in broad outline, a model for other economies confronted by the twin demons of inflation and unemployment. The agreement is not perfect, but it is remarkable for the concessions made by the private-sector signatories and for the persistence of Premier Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo in pushing it through. The unions have made the largest sacrifices by accepting what will almost certainly be a substantial loss in real income for their members next year. The agreement bars wage increases greater than 9 percent in the public sector and 11 percent in the private sector. It is based on an assumption that inflation will be 12 percent, but chances are that it will be greater. The employers have given up their demand for more flexibility in hiring and firing, and the government has promised to create 350,000 jobs with some undefined help from the employers.

There are 1.7 million unemployed Spaniards. The rate of unemployment is a stagger-

ing 13.5 percent. The Spanish economy is suffering from a multitude of ills, the country is plagued by terrorism, and a coup d'etat has recently been avoided. As a result, responsible Spaniards across the political spectrum are highly motivated to work together. They all recognize that until the country's economic problems are solved, or at least eased, political stability will remain elusive.

The case for a social contract may be less clear-cut in newly Socialist France, which has almost 1.8 million unemployed, or Conservative Britain, where 2.5 million are looking for work. But the situation is getting worse in most industrialized countries. In the 24-nation OECD area, the unemployment rate is about 7.5 percent with a total of 26 million expected to be out of work by the end of the year. Inflation for the area is more than 10 percent. Government, industry and labor in the industrialized countries might examine the Spanish example, the major disadvantage of which is that it doesn't start until next year. It isn't a cure-all, but it is a move in the right direction.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

# The Professional

"I have recovered. I feel fine. And the doctors say I've recovered. So if I'm a medical miracle, I'm a happy one." It was hard to believe, watching Ronald Reagan on television Tuesday, that 11 weeks ago he was in intensive care. Since the assassination attempt, the president has made other public appearances at which he sounded chipper but looked drawn. On Tuesday, he was fit, grinning and practicing politics with high style.

There were some rough, uninformed, even misinformed answers to foreign affairs questions. When asked about Syrian anti-aircraft missiles that are by definition defensive, he said, "They're offensive weapons; there's no question about the direction in which they're aimed."

Why has he so long delayed an address outlining his foreign policy? He fumbled for an answer, finally settling on an arithmetic test, as though a foreign policy is measured by the number of visitors entertained and the number of miles traveled ("I have met with eight heads of state already...").

But in other respects, the president was back at the top of his form. He took pains,

for instance, to show his sense of political fair play: What does he think about conservative groups focusing expensive television commercials targeting liberal Democrats for defeat? "One of the things that does not set too well with me is that to campaign before there is a candidate on your side means that you're campaigning totally in a negative way."

And more to the point, Mr. Reagan kept the focus where he wanted it — on his economic program.

In his opening statement, he sought skillfully to portray his Democratic opponents as obstructionists, people who "have reported spending cuts they know can't be made; closing, for example, one-third of the nation's post offices." Rich man's president? Not him, by golly. By the time the questions stopped, he seemed almost ready to bet that he's more of a common man than Speaker O'Neill, a Democrat.

One need not share Mr. Reagan's politics to be pleased: An accomplished and audacious professional is back in uniform.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

# International Opinion

## Reluctant Defenders

While the situation in and around Poland continues to deteriorate, the countries bordering the Baltic maintain their complete insouciance on matters of defense. The latest recruits to the ranks of pacifism are the Finnish Social Democrats, who have just voted against any increase in defense spending, even in nominal terms. NATO Secretary-General Luns has pointed out that in terms of GNP, Denmark's current defense effort is about half what it was 20 years ago. But all the admonishments from NATO, Washington and elsewhere seem insufficient to convince a Danish government that seems determined to keep its eyes shut to realities.

— From the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich).

## Attacking Inflation

The Reagan government... is rightly giving top priority to the conquest of inflation. What is worrying is the fact that it is being tackled as if it were a purely domestic problem, whereas conditions in America have an often shattering impact in other countries. President Reagan's problem is that, while he has been strikingly successful in cutting government expenditure, the anti-inflationary effect of his cuts seems likely to be canceled out by the tax reductions which he promised before he was elected. The result is that the only way he has left of attacking inflation is through raising interest rates... This is pushing up interest rates everywhere else...

— From the *Daily Mail* (London).

# In the International Edition

## Seventy-Five Years Ago

June 18, 1906

LONDON — The Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler, chief rabbi, was interviewed here yesterday on the reported massacre of Jews at Bielskist. Asked about the migration of Jews from Russia, the chief rabbi replied: "The Russian Jews are most anxious to get away, but it is extremely difficult to move large masses of people from one country to another. There can therefore be only a partial emigration to the United States, Canada and Argentina. We in England are helping the Russian Jews to get away. I hope the exercises influenced by the Duma, in which there is a large number of Jews, will result in equal rights being eventually given our people in Russia."

## Fifty Years Ago

June 18, 1931

PARIS — Yehudi Menuhin, 14-year-old American-born violin genius, has been awarded the premier prix of the National Conservatory of France, it was announced yesterday. He was also made an honorary member of the Association Amicale des Prix du Violon du Conservatoire de Paris, an organization that includes Kreisler, Thibaud and other famous violinists. The presentation was made at a banquet with Georges Enesco, under whom the young artist studied, presiding as toastmaster. Young Menuhin made his Paris debut in 1927. He is now living with his parents in a forest villa not far from Paris, isolated for purpose of rest and study. No public appearance will be made until October.



# Reagan's 'Fading' Russians...

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — In the last few weeks the Reagan administration has been emphasizing a theme that may very well be true, but is highly dangerous. This is that the Soviet Union may seem to be the most formidable threat to freedom in the world, but actually is breaking up by its own failures and is now at the beginning of the end of its power.

This theme was first dramatized not by the Reaganites but by the French journalist and philosopher Raymond Aron, who wrote:

"Today, it is science, technology and productivity that determine the rank of individuals and nations. In this hierarchy, the Soviet Union is lagging behind. If the whole of mankind is now on the path of scientific and technological advancement, it is not the Soviet Union that leads the field. Instead, it is only hanging on, by imitating and borrowing."

I recently saw Aron in Paris, where he stressed the theme of his latest book: "If the virtues of an economic regime are measured by its capacity to answer the wishes of the population, organize the rational allocation of resources, and effectively produce the goods necessary to the physical and moral well-being of individual people, then the Soviet experience to this day remains the most spectacular failure in history."

## 'Sick Man of Europe'

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger agrees and thinks that the Soviet Union will really be the "sick man of Europe" by the end of the 1980s. But it is one thing for aging journalists and former secretaries of state to prophesy the decline of the Soviet empire, and quite another for American presidents and presiding secretaries of state to provoke the Russians by predicting their inevitable collapse.

"The Soviet system," said Secretary of State Haig the other day, "is showing signs of spiritual exhaustion. Moscow has an unenviable present and an extremely gloomy future. A list of formidable problems confront it, ranging from the hostility of China to the difficult Polish situation, from economic failures to ideological sterility."

When President Reagan was asked at Tuesday's news conference what he meant by saying at his Notre Dame commencement address that "Communism was a sad, bizarre chapter in human history, and that the events in Poland represented the beginning of the end of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe," he replied: "I think the things we are seeing not only in Poland but in the reports that are beginning to come out of the Soviet Union itself... is an indication that we are beginning to see the beginning of the end."

## Dubious Diplomacy

This may be sound history, but it's very dubious diplomacy. For Reagan and Haig are telling the aging rulers of the Soviet Union that they have wrecked the Communist revolution, failed to control Poland and are in danger of losing not only the support of the Communist parties in France and the rest of Western Europe but their empire in Eastern Europe as well. This raises some awkward problems. It would be odd if the Russians did not try to prove that they are not declining or "finished," that they will quell the counter-revolution in Poland, and after the Israeli bombing attack on the nuclear facilities in Iraq, insist on demonstrating their support of the Arab states in the Middle East.

Reagan did not deal in his news conference with these larger questions of world politics — the

spread of nuclear weapons in the world, the potential anarchy if all nations, like Israel, assume the right to bomb any nuclear laboratory it thought might threaten its security.

## Stumbled

He was very comfortable with domestic political and economic problems, even very belligerent against the Democrats in general and House Speaker Tip O'Neill in particular. But on the more dangerous issues of foreign policy he stumbled around, asserting that since he had been a poor lad in Illinois he understood the problems of the poor people of America and the poor nations of the world.

All this puzzles Washington and

its friends. They listened to Reagan explaining why he hadn't made a serious foreign policy speech, defining his intentions. After all, he said, he had seen a lot of foreign visitors, and Haig was in China, and he agreed with both Peking and Taiwan, and understood the grievances of both Israel and the Arab states.

But maybe, he suggested, we shouldn't worry too much, for while we have our troubles, the Soviet Union has even more dilemmas than we have. He looked good in his first news conference since the attack on his life — a little skinnier and even more muscular. He has not lost his sense of humor, but his sense of history is still in doubt.

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# ... And an Old Fear of Witches

By William Styron

IN RECENT months I have begun to suffer old bouts of déjà vu — small seizures of that apprehension I felt on Fifth Avenue 30 years ago. It is not yet exactly 30 years ago; it is not yet almost I feel, by any means; it is another indefinable uneasy sensation which I last felt in the mid-'50s, when our vanguard of troops in Vietnam — known by their ludicrous euphemism, "advisers" — began to number in the hundreds, then the thousands.

By this I mean a palpable manifestation, once again, not of our understandable hatred of Communism, but of our perennial self-destructive fear. And I want to speak briefly on this.

First about the necessity to hate. I read just the other day a likable quotation from John Kenneth Galbraith: "Under capitalism, man exploits man. Under Communism, it is just the reverse."

Ponder that for a moment. A good jest, really, but only half the truth. For one should more accurately say this: "Under Communism man exploits man *absolutely*." That is the difference, and that is why, from where I view things, one must hate Communism to the end.

Even in the abstract one must detest the Soviet system — a catalog of Russia's manifold oppressions is not necessary here — but I have been to the Soviet Union several times and there have made good friends, most of them writers, and the suffering of their enforced silence defies description. So it is not an impersonal matter for me.

My American friend Kurt Vonnegut has written a couple of beautiful lines: "Our freedom to write whatever we please in this country is holy to me. It is a rare privilege not only on this planet, but throughout the universe, I suspect."

Vonnegut did not have to tack on the obvious corollary, which is that in the Soviet Union the freedom to write is not a privilege, but is denied; therefore, its absence is unholy, and also obscene. The violations of other human freedoms in Russia are just as obscene.

For free men a hatred of Communism should be as healthy and vital a response as breathing air. I think such a hatred has even been of great political value in [the United States], since through the awful example of a captive society we have sometimes energized our democratic institutions and perhaps even our capacity for generosity and brotherhood.

But between hatred of Communism and fear of it there is a large and consequential difference. Fear of Communism degraded us by

murdering Sacco and Vanzetti — whatever their technical guilt or innocence; fear of Communism caused countless deaths and mutilations in the labor movement in the years before World War II; this terrible fear, inflamed by Senator McCarthy, turned friend against friend, wife against husband, brother against brother, and ruined the lives and reputations of hundreds of innocent men and women 30 years ago.

Most catastrophic of all, encouraged by industrial profiteers, our fear has led us into wars in places we never belonged, wars whose dismal outcome can show little or no gain, moral or physical, for the fact of our participation — hideous and bloody stalemates like Korea or, far worse, Vietnam, where thousands and thousands died utterly futile deaths, or returned home maimed and brutalized in body and spirit.

And so, as I say — although I am not yet truly alarmed — I begin to feel that old unease when I see new manifestations of this fear. I see fear, for instance, on the face of Alexander Haig when he speaks, in nearly impenetrable language, of stopping the leftists in El Salvador or dealing with a worldwide terrorist conspiracy. Is this not merely fear of Communism, in updated terms?

Those bulging eyes, those beads of sweat on the upper lip — this is truly craven fear, really, so desperately lacking in composure as to risk being called conduct unbecoming to an officer.

Here, let me not be misunderstood. Soviet power is as great and as dangerous as our own and I don't recommend for a minute that we relax a policy of vigilance, or that we assume the Russians will not take advantage of any manifest weakness. What worries me is not that we will abandon our implacable opposition to Communism, but that — like restless sleepers who mistake the threatening apparitions on the wall for porpo-

# Cold War Response To El Salvador

By Robert E. White

Robert E. White, a former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

WASHINGTON — The poverty of this administration's policy toward El Salvador becomes clearer every day. The government of El Salvador is going nowhere. The violence continues. The reforms have stopped. The economy is foundering. The extremes are gathering strength.

Yet the only response from this administration has been to discourage diplomatic initiatives from friendly governments, to spin tall tales about massive arms shipments from Nicaragua and to point the Salvadoran military toward search and destroy missions against *campesino* towns suspected of containing guerrillas.

To a government pleading for economic assistance to carry out its reform programs, we have provided unneeded armaments. To a people crying out for an end to the violence, we have furnished unwanted military advisers. To moderate civilian and military leaders trying desperately to contain the slaughter practiced by the security forces, we have given an abandonment of our human rights policy and a justification for government-sponsored terrorism. To friendly governments seeking to encourage a negotiated solution, we have trumpeted insupportable charges of a "hardbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers."

And to world leaders who believed that the United States had finally learned that counterrevolution is not an adequate response to a people determined to transform their country, we have responded with Cold War rhetoric.

## Moderates

If U.S. policy toward El Salvador continues to exclude a political solution to that country's tragic civil war, the inexorable result will be to drive the moderate element — the Christian Democrats — from the government. This has long been the objective of the economic elites that regard the commitment of the Christian Democrats to profound reform as far more dangerous than the threat posed by the guerrillas of the far left.

The Reagan administration has thrown its weight behind a military solution to the Salvadoran tragedy. This has forced the Christian Democrats to equivocate regarding their long and strongly held position in favor of a negotiated solution to the conflict, and threatens their ability to govern. Two public examples that bear witness to the Christian Democrats' commitment to negotiation come to mind.

In October, 1980, the bishop of San Salvador, Arturo Rivera y Damas, speaking in the name of the entire episcopate, offered to mediate between the government and the Democratic Revolutionary

Front (FDR). While the FDR turned its back on the bishop's initiative, the government immediately accepted the mediation offer. A few weeks later, at a ceremony in the headquarters of the Organization of American States, Foreign Minister Fidel Chavez Mena stated unequivocally the government's willingness to "meet with all groups and sectors at the negotiating table."

It is important to be clear on this essential point. The Christian Democrats want to enter into negotiations with the FDR. It is the Salvadoran military that opposes any accommodation with the left, preferring instead to kill them with the assistance of our arms and our military advisers.

## No Choice

Unless the United States uses its influence in favor of negotiation, the Christian Democrats have no choice but to temporize. They are not powerful enough to move the military toward a political solution without the solid backing of the United States. The Christian Democrats' only hope is that the nations of Western Europe and a more responsible and humane crisis.

It is not only the Reagan administration that treats the Christian Democrats as expendable. Leaders of the FDR have persistently underestimated the importance of the Christian Democrats. FDR President Guillermo Ungo has spoken contemptuously of President Napoleon Duarte and other party leaders, describing them as nothing more than a facade for repression.

This is both factually wrong and morally unjust. Men such as junta member Jose Antonio Morales Erlich and Minister of Planning Atilio Viquez, as well as Duarte and Chavez Mena, are authentic democrats committed to a new deal for their country. More than the others, perhaps, Duarte may be tempted to use every device available to stay in office even after any real hope of transferring power from the military to the civilian institutions of the country has disappeared.

Ultimately, however, Duarte is a disciplined Christian Democrat. Should the party decide to leave the government, he will comply. And there is solid evidence of a sentiment building within Christian democracy that the party can expect no support from the Reagan administration and would do well to leave the government in order to salvage what they can of its reputation. When Minister Atilio Viquez said publicly that, while he did not dress in olive drab, he was as much a revolutionary as any guerrilla, he spoke for the great majority of the party.

## Repressive

The government of El Salvador contains worthy people, both uniformed and civilian. It also contains some of the most brutally repressive military in the world. Although the FDR counts many committed democrats in its ranks, it also contains armed guerrillas led by Marxist-Leninists who are guilty of unacceptable violence. It may be that any negotiation would both drive hard-line military elements into opposition to the government and induce some Marxist-led guerrilla groups to break away from the FDR. Both results should be welcomed.

The repressive elements of the military, which regularly torture and kill, constitute a fatal weight around the neck of the government. The FDR must also decide which route it favors — negotiations, guarantees and elections, or a continuation of armed struggle. Each side must face the reality that it contains extremist elements which cannot be assimilated.

In a recent message to his confidants, the superior general of the Jesuits, Pedro Arrupe, said, "Even when Christians recognize the legitimacy of certain struggles and that a nation becomes the most vulnerable to fear, and falls prey to a terror of witches and demons." But I should not like to think so.

Loving America as we should, loving it as Yeats loved Ireland — loving it as I do even, God help me, for its amber waves of grain and its purple mountain majesties, and certainly for the unbordering and unpredictable and marvelous variety of life that stretches from sea to shining sea — loving it so much, I say, we should be able to love it best when we refuse to allow reasonless fear to compromise our peace, and the peace of others.

Only then — like Yeats, in reconciliation with his country and his soul — will each of us be free to say: "When such as I cast our remorse. So great a sweetness flows into the breast. We must laugh and we must sing. We are blest by everything. Everything we look upon is blest."

William Styron, author of the novel "Sophie's Choice," delivered these remarks, excerpted here, at the Duke University commencement last month.

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# John S. Knight, Founder Of U.S. News Group, Dies

United Press International  
AKRON, Ohio — John S. Knight, 86, who founded the newspaper group with the largest circulation in the United States, died Tuesday of a heart attack.

Mr. Knight founded the group that evolved into Knight-Ridder Newspapers Inc., whose 32 newspapers together have a Sunday circulation of 4 million. But he considered himself an editor first, saying, "There is no title higher," and in 1968 he won the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing.

Mr. Knight was born Oct. 26, 1894, in Bluefield, W. Va. His father, C.L. Knight, was a lawyer and teacher who founded a newspaper in Winston-Salem, N.C., before moving the family to Akron in 1900 and eventually buying the Akron Beacon Journal.

Mr. Knight was a junior at Cornell University when World War I broke out in 1917. He joined the Army and fought in France with the 113th Infantry Division. He returned to Akron and joined his father's newspaper in 1920; he inherited it in 1933.

In 1937 he began to organize the Knight chain, using his earnings from the Beacon Journal. His first major acquisition was The Miami Herald. Other acquisitions included the Detroit Free Press in 1940, the Chicago Daily News in 1944 (he sold it to Marshall Field in 1959), the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer in 1959 and The Philadelphia Inquirer in 1969.

Knight-Ridder was formed in 1974 through a corporate merger. It also includes three television stations. Mr. Knight stepped down from his position as editorial chairman in April, 1976, but still came to the office at the Beacon Journal almost daily.

His final title with the organiza-

tion was editor emeritus of Knight-Ridder and of The Miami Herald, the group's flagship.

J. Erwin Porter

TUCSON, Ariz. (AP) — J. Erwin Porter, 78, known for his pastel paintings depicting scenes of the Erie Canal and the Revolutionary War, died Thursday. His paintings were the subject of a one-man show at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington in the 1960s.

Robert Caille

PARIS (IHT) — Robert Caille, 63, publisher of French Vogue, died Monday after a short illness.



John S. Knight

# Belgian Steel Merger Plan Renews Regional Tensions

BRUSSELS — Rivalry between Belgium's French- and Dutch-speaking populations has flared again over the proposed merger of the country's two largest steel firms, which lost about \$300 million between them last year.

A government statement issued Wednesday accused unnamed sectors of the population of trying to "disrupt the fundamental balance of the country" by suggesting that the steel industry should be the financial responsibility of regions rather than the state.

This appeared to be a clear reference to a proposition made last week in Parliament by members of the Dutch-speaking wing of the Social Christian Party, a powerful force in Flanders and a member of the four-party government coalition.

The parliamentarians were expressing the anger felt in the Dutch-speaking north of Belgium at government plans to give about \$700 million to the merger of Cockerill and Hainaut-Sambre, both based in French-speaking Wallonia.

The government intends to take an 80-percent stake in the merged company, Cockerill-Sambre, which will have a capacity of 8 million tons of crude steel a year.

Economics Minister Willy Claes has said that the collapse of the Walloon steel industry would have disastrous social consequences in Belgium.

According to company statistics, more than 200,000 people depend directly or indirectly for their liv-

elihood on Cockerill and Hainaut-Sambre. Most of them are in Wallonia.

The companies have made it clear that if the deal collapses they will go bankrupt.

But Belgium's debt-ridden government needs to find about \$1 billion by next week to establish the new joint company, and this week banks have been declining to lend it.

Rivalry between Flanders and Wallonia has been exacerbated in past years by the steady transfer of wealth to the north of the country that has accompanied the decline of the Walloon steel industry and the rapid development of the port of Antwerp.

# Bangladesh Vote Set for Sept. 21

DACCA, Bangladesh — Bangladesh will elect a successor on Sept. 21 to President Ziaur Rahman, who was assassinated May 30, acting president Abdus Sattar has announced.

In a broadcast speech on Tuesday, Mr. Sattar said Bangladesh was going through a crisis caused by the killing of Gen. Zia by army officers in the abortive coup.

The ruling Nationalist Party was expected to nominate Mr. Sattar. The main opposition Awami League was expected to nominate Hasina Wazed, daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founder and first president of Bangladesh.

# Thatcher Reiterates Tough Monetary Line at Special Cabinet Session

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will stick firmly to her tough monetarist policy despite mounting unemployment, government sources said Wednesday after a two-hour special Cabinet meeting on economic strategy.

And in a strong speech Tuesday night Mrs. Thatcher said there would be no change in government policy. She recalled the words of the U.S. doughboy, who said on arriving in France in 1918: "Retreat? Hell no, we only just got here."

Since taking office two years ago, the government has held down public spending and sought to restrict the money supply in a fight against double-digit inflation, which it sees as the main threat to the nation's economic recovery.

But opposition parties, trade unions, and several influential members of the ruling Conservative Party have urged steps to bring down the unemployment total, now at 2,558,000 or 10.6 percent of the work force and the worst since the 1930s.

The special Cabinet meeting was arranged because moderate ministers who dislike the government's

hard-line economic policy had protested they could not make their views known.

Much of Mrs. Thatcher's economic strategy discussion usually takes place in an inner Cabinet of ministers who support her.

According to informed sources, the chancellor of the exchequer,

Sir Geoffrey Howe, told the Cabinet that more cuts in government spending would be needed to defeat inflation.

Some ministers were expected to resist this, among them Employment Secretary James Prior, one of the moderates. He outlined an alternative strategy that could ease

unemployment, but the sources said those wanting a change in government policy were in the minority.

The opposition Labor Party has made unemployment the main theme of its attack on the government. Its leader, Michael Foot, told a trade union conference Wednesday that Mrs. Thatcher's economic policies had proved to be a hopeless, unqualified, unredeemed catastrophe.

About 500 unemployed workers marched last month 300 miles from Liverpool to London to protest the lack of job opportunities.

## Opposition of Heath

The former Conservative prime minister Edward Heath has also joined the chorus of dissent. He spoke passionately in Parliament recently of his fears that the Conservatives could become the party of unemployment.

Mrs. Thatcher does not need to call a general election until 1984, and opinions vary on how much unemployment will affect her party's chances.

Many Conservatives are worried that if there are about 3 million still unemployed when polling

takes place, it would lose them a large number of votes and could mean defeat.

If an upturn in the economy does not come in the next year or so, pressure on the prime minister for a change of course and more government spending would probably increase sharply from her own supporters.

Norman St John-Stevens, a former minister whom Mrs. Thatcher fired six months ago, warned her Tuesday night that she was in danger of creating two nations — those with jobs and those without.

But according to a recent lengthy study in the Times of London using the government's economic model, the probable effect of easing the monetarist policy would be a sharp rise in inflation, with only a small decrease in unemployment.

## Flights Halted in London

LONDON — Transatlantic airline travelers faced a 19-hour disruption of flights to and from London as air traffic controllers at two key centers went on strike from noon Wednesday.

# INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE OPPORTUNITIES

## QUALIFIED DIAMOND GRADERS

### THE POSITIONS

Applications are invited for a number of vacancies existing in the diamond grading department of an international group of companies involved in all aspects of the diamond industry.

These vacancies exist in the Antwerp office of the group, where the successful applicants will be based, but a fair amount of international travel to the group's offices is anticipated.

The duties will be to grade and classify the polished diamond production according to the G.I.A. standards and to ensure that these standards are applied accurately and consistently throughout the group.

### THE GROUP

The Group is a mining-based organization with high-quality gem diamond mines in South Africa, which production is currently polished at the group's modern diamond polishing factory in Johannesburg, currently employing 250 polishers. A similar size factory is being constructed in Taiwan and should be operational by the end of the year. The polished production is sold in the group's trading offices in Zurich, Antwerp, Pforzheim and Valenza, with establishment of further offices in New York and Hong Kong to be completed by mid-1982. In these offices trading is conducted in all categories of polished diamonds.

### THE PERSONS

The successful applicants should be in possession of a G.I.A. diamond grading diploma, with at least 5 years experience in diamond grading and certification at one of the leading recognized diamond grading laboratories.

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CSR Energy Division is responsible for production, marketing, exploration, research and development of energy resources (coal, petroleum, uranium, oil shale) both in Australia and overseas. CSR Limited is Australian owned, and as one of Australia's leading mining groups operates open-cut and underground coal mines in Queensland, New South Wales, and Western Australia. The following newly created senior positions are now available due to expansion of current mining operations and development of new mines.

## SENIOR COAL MINING EXECUTIVES AUSTRALIA

Around \$A45,000 (\$US\$2,000) plus benefits

## MANAGER-PLANNING (Reference 9517)

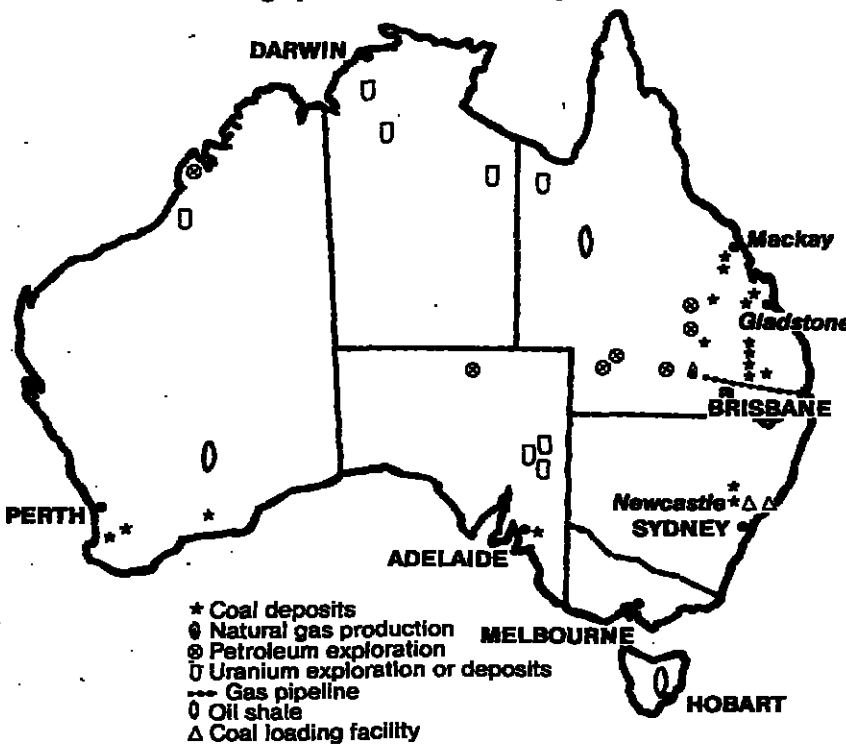
Reporting to the General Manager, Coal Operations, the Manager Planning will control a team of professional engineers of varying disciplines, and be responsible for all aspects of the planning, bringing on stream and expansion of five open-cut and underground coal mines in Queensland.

Applicants should have a tertiary qualification or degree and substantial experience in development studies, mine planning and operations, preferably in open-cut and underground coal mining. Experience in Longwall mining/design, dragline scheduling and a knowledge of methane drainage and spontaneous combustion would be highly regarded.

## MANAGER-MINING SERVICES (Reference 9527)

Assisted by qualified engineers, the Manager-Mining Services will be required to provide technical advice to operating mines, developing projects and feasibility studies for surface and underground mining associated with coal, oil shale, uranium or other energy resources.

Applicants should have a tertiary qualification or degree in mining engineering and extensive mining experience including ten or more years in coal mining. Planning and operating experience in both surface and underground operations is preferred. However, those with extensive experience in one or more of these areas will also be considered.



## MANAGER-COAL PREPARATION (Reference 9537)

The Manager-COAL PREPARATION will lead a specialized team providing technical advice on matters related to the evaluation of coal, upgrading of quality and its utilization for coking, steaming or conversion applications throughout the mining group. The team will also be required to provide technical input into the marketing of coal.

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Interviews will be held in Europe during July with arrival of successful applicants scheduled for the last quarter of 1981. Complete confidentiality is assured.

Written applications quoting the relevant reference number should be forwarded by air mail to:

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Management Consultants  
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# Export-Import, CIA Style: Ex-Agents Supply Arms to Qadhafi

By Seymour M. Hersh

This article, first of a two-part series, was excerpted from a story written by Seymour M. Hersh, a former New York Times reporter, for The New York Times Magazine. He is now at work on a book about Henry Kissinger, to be published by Summit Books.

WASHINGTON — Five years ago, two former operatives of the CIA — Edwin P. Wilson and Frank E. Terpil — made a business deal with Col. Moamer Qadhafi, the ruler of Libya. In essence, the former CIA men, who had become partners in an export-import business, agreed to sell Col. Qadhafi their accumulated years of U.S. intelligence contacts, experience and expertise. Theirs was a product that could not be purchased on the open market.

Under cover of their export-import business, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil are said to have helped Libya set up a manufacturing plant for the production of assassination weapons; to have themselves helped Col. Qadhafi plan political assassinations; to have recruited dozens of former Green Berets to teach Libyan soldiers and Arab terrorists how to handle volatile explosives, for example, how to turn ashtrays into weapons of terror; to have illegally shipped arms explosives to Libya with the aid of forged and fraudulent State Department export certificates; and to have involved other former CIA employees in their projects.

Information about the Qadhafi connection has been known by the government since the fall of 1976. It was then that Kevin P. Mulcahy, at the time a partner of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil, approached the CIA and the FBI with grave doubts about the legality and ethics of his company's business dealings with Libya.

Mr. Mulcahy has now decided to tell his story publicly for the first time. He is tired of waiting for this segment of his life to end. He wants to be listed again in the telephone directory, to hold a driver's license in his own name, to vote, to own property, to stop living as if he — and now Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil — had been indicted for wrongdoing.

Ed Wilson was running what amounted to an updated version of the military-industrial complex in which former CIA and military employees have put their government experience, contacts and knowledge to use for large personal monetary gain, regardless of the damage they will do to their own country.

### Disturbing Implications

U.S. authorities acknowledge that its implications are deeply disturbing. Col. Qadhafi obviously has used the materials and expertise of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil in his support of such guerrilla groups as the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Red Brigades of Italy, the Red Army of Japan, the Baader-Meinhof Gang in West Germany and the Irish Republican Army. He is suspected of having ordered the murder of at least 10 political enemies in Europe and the Middle East.

A former high-speed-communications and computer-technology expert in the CIA, Mr. Mulcahy was no innocent when he came forward about the way the export-import business had worked. Mr. Mulcahy, now 38, began working full-time for the CIA in 1963, after serving as an airborne radio operator in the

Navy. In 1968, he resigned from the agency to take a position in the electronics industry. There followed a succession of increasingly responsible jobs in the computer industry, a serious drinking problem that drove him into Alcoholics Anonymous, and a painful divorce.

By the fall of 1974, Mr. Mulcahy had come to grips with his alcoholism and, having left the computer industry, began working in Virginia as a counselor in a drug- and alcohol-treatment center. By 1975, he was trying to set up a series of halfway houses and was scrambling for federal grants.

Mr. Mulcahy rented a house by chance from

via O. Coate of Massachusetts. He could telephone a contact in the Internal Revenue Service and within 15 minutes have intimate financial details on a potential customer.

But sometime in late May of 1976, Mr. Wilson went a step further: he telephoned Theodore G. Shackley, a prominent CIA official who was then serving as the assistant to the deputy director for clandestine operations — one of the most powerful posts in the agency.

Mr. Wilson arranged a meeting at Mr. Shackley's home a few nights later. Mr. Shackley was introduced by Mr. Wilson to Mr. Mulcahy. Mr. Wilson told Mr. Shackley that he

for the job, and that senior officials of American Electronic had not known of the moonlighting.

Mr. Mulcahy was beginning to get a taste of life as an international salesman, and it was good. In June, he flew to England to set up an exhibition at a security show at Brighton. The rooms were first class. So was the food, and there seemed to be a constant series of parties and party girls. It was in England, Mr. Mulcahy says, that Mr. Terpil asked him if he wanted to earn \$5,000 on his return flight to Washington by detouring to Cairo to deliver a "cold gun," one with no identifying serial number.

Mr. Mulcahy refused to deliver the weapon, but did learn months later that Col. Qadhafi had provided Mr. Terpil and Mr. Wilson with a \$1-million contract to assassinate Umar Abdullah Muhayshi, a Libyan defector who had plotted to overthrow Col. Qadhafi's regime. The assassination assignment had been subcontracted by Wilson to three anti-Castro Cubans in Miami with whom he had once worked in the CIA.

During that summer, Mr. Mulcahy edged closer to the line of illegality and, in at least one case, crossed it. He recalled that Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil were selling munitions, communications equipment and highly restricted night-vision devices without preliminary clearance from the Office of Munitions Control in the State Department and the export control division in the Commerce Department. In one case, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil purchased a U.S. Army vehicle equipped with night-surveillance equipment for shipment to Libya, in direct violation of all regulations.

In July, 1976, after his return from England, Mr. Mulcahy learned that only 6 of the 10 timing devices sent to Libya had worked. Libya's reaction to the demonstration was puzzling to Mr. Mulcahy. Although nearly half the devices had failed to work, the Libyans were still willing to order 100,000 for immediate delivery.

A few weeks later, Mr. Terpil returned from a visit to Libya with an increase in the order to 300,000 timers. "I didn't get suspicious," Mr. Mulcahy recalls, "until Frank came in with the order for 300,000. I knew damn good and well that there was no way there was need for 300,000 timers — there weren't 300,000 mines in the harbors and deserts from the Six-Day War as well as World War II."

At this point, Mr. Mulcahy understood that Mr. Wilson's story about mine-clearing in Libya was false, but he thought it was shielding a CIA operation, and not serving as a cover for a terrorist-support program.

By this time, it was clear that the senior officers of American Electronic could not be persuaded to build 300,000 timers without verifying the order with the CIA. There was yet another scramble: This time to find a manufacturer who could begin delivering the timers within 45 days. Another Friday night meeting in a Virginia bar was arranged with Mr. Mulcahy and representatives of another longtime CIA supplier, Scientific Communications Inc. of Dallas. Mr. Terpil had found the company, whose president, Joe L. Halpain, later agreed to manufacture 500 prototype timers within 30 days.

Mr. Mulcahy later learned that the final contract with Col. Qadhafi called for a total payment of \$35 million for 500,000 timers. The cost of supplying the devices, he knew, would be somewhere around \$2.5 million. Even in the international-arms business, profits like that are not easy to come by.

Mr. Wilson had promised the Libyans that he would set up a manufacturing laboratory near Tripoli for the production of assassination weapons in August. Col. Qadhafi, in turn, promised to pay him \$1 million in cash immediately upon arrival of the first batch of timers, explosives and other equipment that would be needed.

### Volatile Chemicals Sought

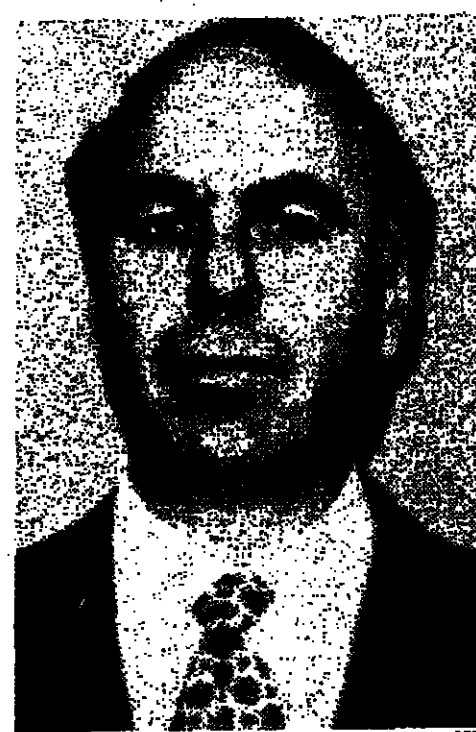
Scientific Communications came through on its promise to deliver the prototype timers within 30 days. Far more difficult were the issues of where to purchase the volatile chemical explosives needed for the production of the assassination weapons and how to slip them into Libya. The necessary explosives included TNT and a variety of lethal plastiques — among them RDX — which were designated as Class A explosives by the Transportation Department and could not be shipped on passenger and cargo aircraft.

Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil again reached into the ranks of CIA contractors and found a California firm, J.S. Brower and Associates of Pomona, which agreed to supply the chemicals, all of which were considered defense articles that could not be exported without federal licensing.

One problem remained: how to get the timers and explosives into Libya. In early August, Mr. Terpil arranged a meeting with Jerome S. Brower, the 61-year-old president of Brower and Associates. Mr. Brower was shown a list of all the chemicals that Inter-Technology wanted to purchase for the Libyan operation.

Mr. Wilson explained that the company was setting up a laboratory in Tripoli and doing some demonstrations work. Mr. Brower immediately raised his price and demanded partial payment in advance. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil agreed to pay nearly \$38,000 on account, Mr. Mulcahy says, and the California businessman "called his plant, talked to his wife Peggy, and his plant manager and told them how to pack the chemicals."

RDX, the most lethal and unstable material, was to be placed inside 55-gallon drums in webbing, and the drums then were to be filled with a gel substance. The explosives were to be shipped East, to Dulles Airport, near Washington, marked as "industrial solvent," on the first available passenger flights, Mr. Mulcahy recalled. Once at Dulles, they were consolidated



Frank E. Terpil



Edwin P. Wilson

## The Man with the Contacts Was Charming, Effective: 'A Red-Blooded American'

WASHINGTON — Edwin P. Wilson is invariably depicted by former associates as a charming, charismatic, effective, rough-and-ready, 6-foot-4 swashbuckler who excelled in his military and intelligence career. But the real reasons for his success as an international weapons dealer are the contacts he has built up during more than 20 years of work with U.S. government intelligence services.

Mr. Wilson went to work for the CIA's Office of Security in 1951 and, after serving in the Marines, became a full-time CIA employee in 1955. In the late 1960s, he helped organize a Washington firm called Consultants International Inc. for the CIA and the Navy. The firm's ostensible purpose was to conduct export-import operations, but that function was a cover for classified intelligence operations.

Over the next few years, his intelligence activities were combined and mingled with his private operations. He hired a number of associates, many of them with military or intelligence backgrounds, and, according to federal officials, was routinely receiving large kickbacks from U.S. manufacturers and foreign governments on his procurement contracts.

The men working for him were convinced that he was still active in CIA intelligence operations. "I thought he was reporting directly to the president," a former associate recalled. "Ed still must be sanctioned by the U.S. government. The people I met were impressive. All of a sudden I'm on a first-name basis with big names in Congress and the Senate. It was always like the government was supporting us."

Robert Keith Gray, an influential public relations man known for his close ties to the Eisenhower, Nixon and Reagan administrations, was among those listed as a member of the board of Consultants International for five years, beginning in 1970. However, Mr. Gray, who served as co-chairman of President Reagan's inaugural committee, expressed surprise in an interview upon being told of his official listing. "I never knew I was on the board," Mr. Gray said. "I never was invited to a board meeting." He acknowledged that he has had a social and business relationship with Mr. Wilson, who he described as "charming and very much a red-blooded American."

### Equipment Appears on Market

In 1971, Wilson dropped his CIA connection and was a part of Task Force 157, a secret Navy intelligence unit that employed 50 to 75 agents to monitor and collect information on Soviet shipping. It reported not only on routine cargo items but also watched for the covert shipment of military goods and nuclear weapons. The unit also was charged with the responsibility of picking up intelligence operatives from Taiwan and secretly ferrying them inside mainland China, where they would implant sensitive seismic monitors and radio equipment.

Those operations were stopped after President Richard M. Nixon's visit to Peking in 1972, and CIA officials were astonished to learn later that some of the sensitive equipment designed solely for use inside China was appearing for sale in the international arms market.

Mr. Wilson's first CIA assignment, in the 1950s, was to infiltrate the Seafarers International Union, in which he was eventually appointed to a number of official positions. He also was involved in congressional lobbying on behalf of the union and apparently began then forming his close relationship with a number of influential members of Congress.

Mr. Wilson became a CIA specialist on maritime issues and was involved in the procurement of equipment for clandestine Navy operations. During the Bay of Pigs, he was assigned as a paymaster and handled procurement as well. He later served in Southeast Asia and Latin America.

A full accounting of Mr. Wilson's connections and business activities may never be known. He has boasted of having a controlling interest in more than 100 corporations in the United States and Europe.

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ed into one shipping container, then they were forwarded to Europe for transshipment by Lufthansa passenger planes to Tripoli without knowledge of the airline.

### Suspended Sentence

All of the men involved understood the implications of what they were doing, Mr. Mulcahy says. "The nitro could have blown if the plane hit an air pocket."

Mr. Brower was indicted in April, 1980, along with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil, for his role in illegally conspiring to ship the explosive with knowledge that they would be used to "kill, injure and intimidate individuals." After pleading guilty and agreeing to cooperate with federal investigators, he was fined \$5,000 last December and sentenced to a five-year prison term, with all but four months suspended.

In late August, Mr. Mulcahy, who was keeping his now-grave doubts to himself, was on a business trip in Copenhagen. Mr. Terpil and Mr. Wilson suddenly dispatched an urgent cable to him there. Mr. Mulcahy was to break off his trip and return to Washington to open negotiations with General Dynamics Corp. for the purchase of one of its Redeye ground-to-air missiles.

The missile, which could not be exported to Libya under the law, is shoulder-launched and has a heat-seeking component that enables it to track and destroy aircraft in flight. It had been used extensively and successfully by the Israelis during the 1973 war.

"My problem was not to worry about the paperwork," Mr. Mulcahy says. "Terpil and Wilson had a pilot in Pennsylvania who would fly anywhere. Once he got over the water — and away from U.S. legal jurisdiction — he would change the paper." If the Redeye had been purchased, the pilot would simply change the intended recipient listed on the export license, from an approved ally, such as those in NATO, for example, to Libya.

Mr. Mulcahy was unmoved by his sudden assignment and discussed it with an associate in Copenhagen. "My friend told me that the only reason Libya would want one Redeye was for use in a terrorist attack," Mr. Mulcahy says. "We speculated that Qadhafi probably wanted to be the first to shoot down a 747."

Mr. Mulcahy began walking the streets of Copenhagen. He couldn't sleep. "I watched the sunrise come in Copenhagen," Mr. Mulcahy recalled, "and knew what I had to do — get back to Washington fast. I had to find out what paperwork existed in the Inter-Technology offices he shared with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Terpil. 'I felt that Frank and Ed were giving Qadhafi any goddamn thing he asked for.'"

NEXT WEEK: How guns and explosives, the hardware of terrorism, and the experts to use them were exported to Libya by the old-boy network for more than four years, despite Kevin Mulcahy's disclosure to the federal government.

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**SAVE THESE OTHER WAYS**

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collect calls may be placed in many countries. And where they are, the hotel surcharges on such calls are usually low. Or you can avoid surcharges altogether by calling from the post office or from other telephone centers.

Now...is that you on the left? Not bad. You can still shake a leg.



Reach out and touch someone



# Enfin, Franglais Gets Its Own Dictionnaire

By Richard Bider  
New York Times Service

PARIS — The French word for north is borrowed from English. So are the words for south, east and west.

This happened back in the 12th century, when the British were sailors and got about more than the land-bound French. If France has been living on imported directions ever since, nobody has noticed, unless in some unconscious fashion the practice has sustained the old national resentment of the British.

It was that lack of noticing that struck the editors of a dictionary that has just been published: the fact that the Gare de l'Est seems totally French, unlike "la drugstore," for example.

The new book is called the Dictionnaire des Anglicismes, but quite naturally, it is unlikely to be known as anything else but the Dictionary of Franglais.

### Recurring Debate

Franglais, the intermingling of English words in French, is the subject of an old but recurring debate in this country. First coined in the 1950s by a peaceable grammarian named Maurice Godé, the word was taken up by Anglo-Americanist named René Etiemble. He has written a book, "Les Franglais," defining the use of unconstructed Anglicisms as a subversion of the French spirit and character.

He considered words like "parking," "weekend," "interview," "boy-cotter" and "sexy." Why? Etiemble wanted to know. "If we desire a woman," he wrote, "we can, in any event, call her desirable."

France has been in a national tizzy ever since, without managing to elicit a national cure — the equivalent of jogging in place. Government commissions try to devise French words for the flood of objects and notions coming in from abroad, but the Anglicized, or Americanized, versions prevail. The commissions worked away at bulldozer

and finally came up with "bouteur." Nobody used it.

Attempting to improve the English language is nothing new for Franglais. "Tennisman" was invented to fill no felt need; a female television announcer became a "speakeerie" and the English custom of going for long walks over the hills was imported and baptized "footing."

### Nine-Year Job

Despite all this, no real inventory of Franglais has been made until now. Josette Rey-Debove, editor of Robert, one of the standard French dictionaries, has been working for the last nine years to compile one. The Dictionary of Anglicisms, whose co-author is Gilberte Gagnon, is the result.

"It is a kind of answer to Etiemble," Mrs. Rey-Debove said the other day. "I wouldn't call it an argument, but perhaps a clarification."

Mrs. Rey-Debove, sensible to the extremes of Franglais, said she thought the dispute had grown out of proportion. Her dictionary attempts to strike a note of reason.

There are the numerous Franglais terms. The dictionary lists 2,620 words, of which 1,500 are current, or about 2 percent of the listings in a standard French dictionary. As the review in Le Monde of the Franglais work said, "We are a long way from the apocalyptic visions of a language invaded by another."

Then there is the fact that a great many words have quietly become part of the French language without anyone's having paid much attention. Mrs. Rey-Debove's dictionary, carefully comparing the dates of first recorded usage, came up with some surprising findings.

Franglais is not simply "le dandy" (1817) or "darling" (1842). It is also "sentimental" (1769) in Flaubert's "L'Education Sentimentale," "semiotique" as in the quintessential French literary specialty of semiotics, and such words as "parlement" (1275), "respectabilité" (1784), "peuple" (imported from England in 1789 at the time of the French Revolu-

tion) and "bateau" (boat, imported in the 12th century along with the points of the compass).

Finally, there are the many examples of newly invented objects or institutions. To devise a French term would be difficult, and once devised it would probably not be used.

The importing of words is not an arbitrary occurrence, Mrs. Rey-Debove said. If the French imported many of their nautical terms from Britain in the Middle Ages, it was because the British were seafarers. In the 18th century, she said, when the French became interested in the British form of government, words like "legislature" were imported. In the 19th century the French interest in the English genre brought in the names of manners and pastimes.

Today, virtually everything — movies, jazz, technology and the kind of lifestyle epitomized by "le mobile-home" — comes with American words attached.

Mrs. Rey-Debove and her dictionary propose a middle ground between indiscriminate acceptance and total rejection. She distinguishes two criteria for accepting a Franglais term. Is it a word that does not exist in French? Does the English spelling produce a sound in French that is a reasonable approximation to the word in English?

### Channeling the Inevitable

"In the computer sciences," she said, "it makes no sense to devise French words. On the other hand, why say 'handicap' when we could say 'infirme' or 'weekend' for 'fin de semaine'? Then there is 'eye liner.' We have no good French equivalent, but the spelling makes it nonsense when pronounced in French."

Mrs. Rey-Debove said she recognized that her criteria were simply an effort to channel the inevitable.

"France is not one of the big powers," she said. "We must accept the successive imperials of the world, but it can be hard for us. Here we have a nostalgia for the past, the impression of having lost our power first, then our riches and now our language."

## Theater in England

# Billy Bishop Goes to War' and Scores Stage Victory

By Sheridan Morley  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — With the year not yet half over, we have already had more Canadian theatrical hits in London during 1981 than during the 1960s and 1970s put together. That is to say, two. First the Maggie Smith "Virginia" from Stratford, Ontario, and now "Billy Bishop Goes to War," which has just reached the Comedy Theatre from Vancouver's East Cultural Centre by way of the last Edinburgh Festival.

Billy Bishop was the greatest of Canada's World War I air aces; with the Royal Flying Corps he shot down 72 German planes in just over a year, before receiving three medals from a grateful King George V and being sent sharply home to Canada on the ground that whereas the English like their heroes dead, the Canadians prefer their alive.

Already this is the material for a war game, one involving not only the usual bitter-sweet nostalgia of such other first-war shows as Joan Littlewood's "Oh, What a Lovely War" but also more intriguing and hitherto unexplored questions of Anglo-Canadian relationships.

The problem with having a great Canadian war hero in 1917 was quite simply that he was Canadian; the British regarded him as a colonial, and as such a man expected to be valuable but not flashy.

### Triumph of Staging

But the triumph of "Billy Bishop" as a production is first and last in its staging; the entire show is played by just two men and they also double as the writers and director. John Gray is the narrator, while his partner Eric Peterson plays Bishop and 15 other characters ranging from a dowager London duchess to George V by way of a French night-club chanteuse.

Aided by a microphone and his own puns, Gray also does all the sound effects of bi-planes diving into oceans, guns exploding in cockpits and pilots falling to watery graves. This is in effect a party piece of a most remarkable kind, one also touching on Canada's innocent pride and the worldwide naivety of young men who went off to fight the Hun because it seemed a lot of fun.

Bishop seems at first an unlikely hero; an appalling record at the Royal Military College is followed by a period of chronic illness and when he does finally go into battle

it is at least partly in a spirit of defiance, not of the enemy but of London's patronizing attitude toward him for having been clumsy enough to be born a Canadian, and therefore material for cannon fodder rather than heroism. The Gray-Peterson show is thus, within the context of a cabaret, an acid commentary on empire rather than warfare, and Peterson himself goes through it like a Vancouver Huck Finn rather than the first Canadian-born Red Baron. We leave him at the end of the show, still very much alive and addressing recruits for another war in 1940; no longer does it seem such a lot of fun to go and fight the Hun, and Bishop allows himself a tone of bemused resignation that the whole thing should be necessary all over again.

### Art

## U.S. Moves to Top on African Works

By Frederick M. Winship  
United Press International

NEW YORK — The United States has quietly become the world center of art in the field of African art and culture, a development proclaimed by an encyclopedic exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum.

Once relegated to ethnic collections in natural history museums and the basements of art museums, the art of black Africa has come a long way in the last decade. Now museums across the country — Los Angeles, Chicago, Dallas, Seattle, Portland and Detroit — are proudly displaying growing collections of wood sculpture, pottery, bronzes and other artifacts.

The Museum of African Art in Washington, an independent institution for 20 years, has just become a part of the Smithsonian Institution, making it in essence the national collection similar to those in London, Paris, Brussels and Berlin. The Metropolitan Museum will open its new Michael C. Rockefeller Wing in November to house its primitive art collection, including comprehensive African holdings.

Scores of colleges and universities offer courses in African culture and art and there are more U.S. scholars active in Africa than from any other country. Great private collections are being assembled, notably the De Meill collection in Houston and the Tishman collection in New York.

### Show at Metropolitan

A show of 150 of the more than 350 African sculptures acquired by Paul Tishman, member of a real estate development family, and his wife, Ruth, opened at the Metropolitan Museum June 3, to run through Sept. 6.

Starting at the top in 1960 by acquiring an exquisite ivory statuette and an impressive bronze head, the art on view in a half acre of exhibition space was selected by the Tishmans and Susan Vogel, the museum's associate curator of primitive art.

"It's rather ironic that although the United States had no colonial and few economic links to Africa, we have wound up as the center of study of African culture," Miss Vogel said. "Scholarship is advancing very rapidly and much is being published. The Peace Corps stimulated interest in Africa in a lot of young people in the 1960s and

and that in essence is what makes "Billy Bishop Goes to War" such a lyrical evening. It has the resonance of a poem by Wilfred Owen and the patriotism of a Canadian national anthem; it utterly lacks the cynicism of the war-weary, simply because that was no part of Bishop's own makeup. In the end, what we have here is a dramatic tone poem about what it meant to be Canadian and at war in 1917.

### Television

## Procter & Gamble Drops Shows Deemed Offensive

By Tony Schwartz  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In the clearest indication that pressure groups may be having an impact on advertisers, the new chairman of Procter & Gamble has acknowledged that his company — U.S. television's largest advertiser — was refusing to sponsor shows it regarded as containing excessive sex, violence and profanity.

Owen B. Butler, chairman of the Cincinnati company, which spent \$485.3 million on television last year, said that P&G had withdrawn sponsorship for 50 network programs this season that did not meet the company's "program guidelines." Mr. Butler did not name any shows.

He addressed the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences in Los Angeles on Monday, two weeks before the Coalition for Better Television — made up of several hundred smaller organizations including the Moral Majority — is to announce a boycott of the sponsors of the shows it deems most offensive.

"We think the Coalition is expressing some very important and broadly held views about gratuitous sex, violence and profanity," Butler said. "I can assure you we are listening very carefully to what they say, and I urge you to do the same."

### Boycott Rejected

He stopped short of endorsing the Coalition's plan for a boycott of advertisers. "The problem which they and we believe exists," he said, "must be solved by mutual understanding, and not by confrontation."

"We must be responsible for the programming which we support through our sponsorship, and we must be responsible for the environment in which our commercials appear. We cannot abdicate that responsibility by turning it over to any group, no matter how highly motivated and how well intentioned they are, by permitting our program choices to be dictated by threats of boycott."

Cal Thomas, a vice president of the Moral Majority, applauded Butler's speech. "I think," he said, "it's an extremely responsible statement that shows what a major company can do — support and sponsor some programs that represent traditional American values."

Arnice Semsky, a senior vice president of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn Inc., the advertising agency, echoed the belief of other advertising executives that advertisers were paying a premium to sponsor shows that were "clean." "It's supply and demand, and the shows that are clean are more in demand," he said. "More advertisers are looking to get involved in these shows out of concern over the Moral Majority and the Coalition for Better Television."

## European Gold Markets

Price	7:00 A.M.	8:00 A.M.	9:00 A.M.	10:00 A.M.	11:00 A.M.
London	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Frankfurt	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Paris	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Geneva	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Zurich	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Basel	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Brussels	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Amsterdam	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Stockholm	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Copenhagen	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Helsinki	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Tallinn	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Riga	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Vilnius	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Kiev	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Moscow	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Prague	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Warsaw	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Budapest	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Belgrade	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Sofia	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Bucharest	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Brno	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Plzen	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Hradec Kralove	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Jablonec nad Jizercami	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
Stary Brno	492.50	491.75	491.25	490.75	490.25
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BUSINESS NEWS BRIEFS

Grupp Plans to Cut Output, Trim 4,000 Jobs

BOON — Fried. Krupp, the West German steel-making and engineering concern, plans sharp production cutbacks at three plants in the coming months and the elimination of 4,000 jobs.

Employee Plan at Continental Air Advances

LOS ANGELES — A plan by Continental Airlines employees to buy control of the Los Angeles-based carrier has cleared two legal hurdles.

British Pension Fund Bids for U.S. REIT

NEW YORK — Connecticut General Mortgage & Realty Investment Trust, one of the nation's largest and most successful real estate investment trusts, is the target of a surprise takeover bid by the pension fund of the British coal miners' union.

BP, Dutch/Shell Reduce Oil-Tanker Fleets

LONDON — Two West European petroleum companies Wednesday announced reductions in their tanker fleets because of falling demand for oil.

Thorn Buys U.K. Plant for Videodisk Output

LONDON — Thorn EMI Ltd. said Wednesday it bought a factory at Swindon, England, for the mastering and pressing of videodisks for the company's VHD videodisk player, which is due to be introduced in Britain in June 1982.

Saudi Loan Not Affected By IMF's Barring of PLO

WASHINGTON — Saudi Arabia's plans to lend the International Monetary Fund \$10 billion over the next two years — with more due in a third year — are not likely to be affected "at all" by the IMF's decision Monday to continue its ban against observer status for the Palestine Liberation Organization at the 1981 annual meeting here.

Markets Closed

All financial markets were closed Wednesday in West Germany for a national holiday.

CURRENCY RATES

Table with columns for currency, rate, and date. Includes entries for Amsterdam, Frankfurt, London, etc.

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EEC Says Japan Ties Improved by Talks

BRUSSELS — Japan will take steps to encourage Japanese companies to import more manufactured goods from Western Europe, Japanese Industry Minister Rokusuke Tanaka promised Wednesday.

U.S. Reports Spending Up

WASHINGTON — Americans spent more and saved less in May, the Commerce Department reported Wednesday.

Yen's Rise a Factor

Later, Japanese Premier Zenko Suzuki said in London that Japan wanted to move closer to Western Europe and promised action to ease the problems caused by Japanese autos and electronic goods flooding into the EEC.

Soviet Output Seen as Lower Than Planned

MOSCOW — Soviet industrial output from January to May grew 3.2 percent against the same period last year, official statistics published in the economic journal Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta showed Wednesday.

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NYSE Prices Higher on Oil Issues

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Mexico Plans Oil Price Increase

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Advertisement for Jet Aviation Private Jet Services, featuring an image of a private jet and contact information for Zurich Airport.

Advertisement for Ramada Geneva hotel, describing it as 'The hotel for executives' and providing contact details.

Advertisement for Data Processing Managers, highlighting T.D.T. services for project leaders and programmers.

Large advertisement for Compania Sevillana de Electricidad, S.A., featuring a large 'S' logo and listing various banks and financial institutions.



NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices June 17

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Table of NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices for June 17, listing various stocks with their high, low, and closing prices.

AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices June 17

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Table of AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices for June 17, listing various stocks with their high, low, and closing prices.

DAVID BRODER ON THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY.

International Herald Tribune We've got news for you.

Table of Canadian Stocks, listing various companies and their stock prices.

Table of Toronto Stocks, listing various companies and their stock prices.

Table of European Stock Markets, listing various European cities and their stock prices.

Table of Montreal Stocks, listing various companies and their stock prices.

Table of Brussels Stocks, listing various companies and their stock prices.

Table of Milan Stocks, listing various companies and their stock prices.

Table of Zurich Stocks, listing various companies and their stock prices.

Table of London Stocks, listing various companies and their stock prices.

Table of Paris Stocks, listing various companies and their stock prices.

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U.S. COMMODITY PRICES

Table of U.S. Commodity Prices including Chicago Futures, New York Futures, Cash Prices, Commodity Indexes, London Metals Market, International Monetary Market, Tokyo Exchange, Paris Commodities, and AMEX Index.

SEC Chief Backs Anti-Bribery Rule Changes

By Martha M. Hamilton
Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — The chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission...

Paris Wants Issues on Ottawa Agenda

(Continued from Page 1)
Delors added that the high rates were "complicating" the Socialist government's economic recovery...

Notice of Redemption ENSERCH Finance N.V.

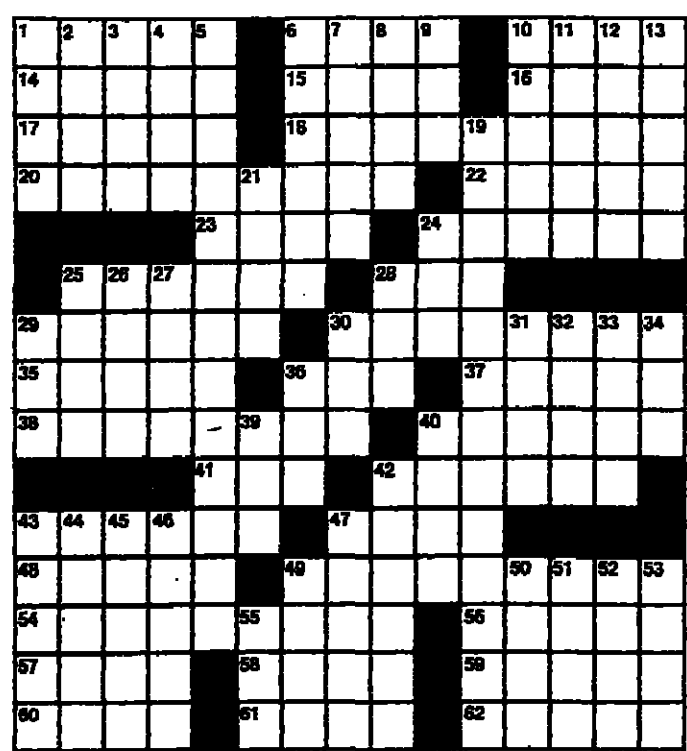
9 1/2% Convertible Subordinated Debentures Due 1994
Redemption Date: August 21, 1981
Conversion Right Expires: August 17, 1981

Canon advertisement featuring the slogan 'This announcement appears as a matter of record only.' and details for 5 1/2% Convertible Notes due 1996.

ENSERCH Finance N.V. advertisement detailing the redemption of 9 1/2% Convertible Subordinated Debentures due 1994.



CROSSWORD By Eugene T. Maleska



ACROSS
1 Of bees
6 Hand or cable followers
10 Ruth's sultanate
14 Numbers
15 Fruity quaffs
16 Dasheen
17 Kind of jury
18 Got out of the way
20 Places visited briefly
22 "...a customer"
23 Congo river
24 Gollanders
25 Ten-point types
26 Half a sweet thing
29 Amaranthes of today
30 Pay out
32 Cuckold
33 Jolteater
37 Western
38 Pauline and Nancy Drew
40 Fictional Yalie
41 Nursery-rhyme vessel
42 Examined carefully
43 Brass andd brasses
47 River to Cairo
48 Collect, as money

WEATHER

Table with columns for HIGH, LOW, and weather conditions for various cities including ALBUQUERQUE, ALBUQUERQUE, ANKARA, ATHENS, AUCKLAND, BANGKOK, BEIRUT, BELGRADE, BERLIN, BOSTON, BRUSSELS, BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, BUENOS AIRES, CAIRO, CAROLINA, CHICAGO, COPENHAGEN, COSTA DEL SOL, DAMASCUS, DUBLIN, EDINBURGH, FLORENCE, FRANKFURT, GENEVA, HELSINKI, HONG KONG, HOUSTON, ISTANBUL, JERUSALEM, LAS PALMAS, LIJIA, LISBON, LONDON, LOS ANGELES.

ADVERTISEMENT INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

Table listing various international funds such as ALLIANCE INT'L FUND, BANK JULIUS BAER & Co Ltd, BANK VON ERNST & CIE AG, BRITANNIA TRUST AMST(C) Ltd, CAPITAL INTERNATIONAL, CREDIT SUISSE, DIT INVESTMENT FRANKFURT, FIDELITY FUND, JARDINE FLEMING, LLOYDS BANK INTL, NBS INVESTMENT, ROTHSCHILD ASSET MGMT, ROTHSCHILD ASSET MGMT (CI), SOFIO GROUPE GENEVA, SWISS BANK CORP, T.M. MANAGEMENT LTD, UNION BANK OF SWITZERLAND, UNION INVESTMENT Frankfurt.



JUMBLE: THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME by Henri Arnold and Bob Lee. Includes a grid of letters and a cartoon titled 'DENNIS THE MENACE' showing a character with a lawnmower.

BOOKS

THE ART OF JAPANESE MANAGEMENT By Richard Tannor Pascale and Anthony G. Athos. 221 pp. \$11.9. Simon and Schuster, 1230 Avenue of the Americas, New York 100.

THEORY Z By William Ouchi. 192 pp. \$12.95. Addison-Wesley Publishers, Reading, Mass. 01867. Reviewed by Frank Gibney

SINCE the middle 1960s, Japanese business has been the walking wonder of the economic world. Journalists, economists and Japanologists have written whole libraries describing its prodigies. Now finally our business-school profs are moving into the act, analyzing for waiting legions of newly minted MBAs how we Americans, too, might profitably take a few leaves from the Japanese businessman's book.

This attention should be welcomed, particularly by those of us American businessmen who worked in Japan over the past decade or so, vainly trying to convince our betters in Peoria or Providence that Japanese business methods were well worth watching. It was hard enough to explain for the visiting international vice president the worth of funny little Japanese management practices such as lifetime employment, hiring the "whole person" right out of college for your company instead of picking up used specialists with experience of concentrating your company's goals on long-term market share over immediate bang-bang profitability.

Both of these books now warn the new generation of MBAs that the Japanese are, in fact, beating us at our own management game, working from a whole new set of premises suggesting that synthesis is more important than analysis, and trust in your fellow workers is more effective than cross-checking their accounts.

As Pascale and Athos have it, "A major reason for the superiority of the Japanese is their managerial beliefs, assumptions, perceptions, style and skill." To which Ouchi adds, "Involved workers are the key to productivity." At the core of Japan's business success, they would agree, is management's ability to develop, motivate and retain workers in what amounts to a work society.

Both books are weak in their observations and conclusions about the society behind Japan's business successes. Both books are swash with simplistic comments on such matters as Zen (I only hear about Japanese businessmen consulting Zen masters when some American writes a book about them), ritual bowing and "honorable plant managers," which would barely qualify them for a C minus in any elementary political science or history class on Japan. Their conclusions, however, about the value of Japanese employment and compensation systems, long-range planning, delegation of responsibility and similar practices are refreshing and useful.

At this point, the two books part company. Stanford's Pascale and Harvard's Athos have written a thoughtful and well-researched exposition of what Japanese management is like and how it differs from our own. By contrast, Ouchi, from the University of California, Los Angeles, has given us a chrome-plated collection of hasty generalizations, slogan-type writing and dime-store business sociology.

Pascale and Athos separate the elements of management into seven handy S's. The so-called "hard S's," in which U.S. management sets its great store, are Strategy, Structure and Systems. The Japanese have them. The "soft S's" — Staff, Style, Skills and Superordinate Goals — are less easy to analyze. And it is in these departments, they argue quite effectively, that Japanese management is far ahead of us. The Japanese naturally practice "interdependence," — that is, people are regarded less as individuals than as collaborators in the context of their roles. Japanese managers are masters of indirection rarely force issues the way we. These and other qualities make smooth intracompany relations with a minimum of conflict bet bosses and subordinates. By con the authors note, the American g cation of independence for the s independence is long out of "Millions of Lone Rangers, conclude, "employed under a thousand corporate roofs may much longer prove very workabk To support their contrasts, P and Athos offer detailed studies management methods of IIT Harold Geneen and Konosuke Sushita's electronics giant in J Matsushita makes an interestin ample, both because such a con tively "one-man" company is far the Japanese norm and because Sushita has tended to use much American-style control methods most of its Japanese counterpart the concern of Matsushita mar for "spiritual" values and the they give to personal relatior would amaze the average U.S. 1 ger. By contrast the "tough tall tough action" style of classic, A can managers like Geneen seem shortsighted and ineffective. Some U.S. companies, they r us, have paid attention to the r — among them IBM, Boeing, P and Gamble, Delta Airlines, 3A Hewlett-Packard. So Japanese n are worth studying, if only as centive to improving our own p es. Making a company peop tered takes time, however, and P and Athos advise us cautiously th "is no sure blueprint fo case." Not so Ouchi. Ouchi partici first in the same research projec Pascale, covering Japanese and companies doing business in countries. He left the project early stages, yet subsequent ruc tions apparently convinced Ouch taking a typical U.S. compar adapting some key traits of the t Japanese company (J) and pro the ideal Type Z company is vir a cinch. Just a matter of time at taining to Ouchi. According t comforting Unified Field Theo a potential Z company has to lo low certain steps, e.g. "Audit Company's Philosophy," "Defir Desired Management Philosophi Involve the Company Leader," "velop Interpersonal Skills," "In the Union," etc. Turning a con into a Type Z organization, warns us, may be no picnic fo orthodox American manager. There is much truth in what says — and surely there is n wrong with a catchy title. But h his thesis a disservice by many generalizations and sweeping ments, based on meager authori big Japanese companies are no batus." (This term is used spec to denote the prewar combin Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo Yasuda.) Japanese do not call major public directors "Impe The most senior director Japanese company. Although the nese management record in U.S. sidaries is good, it is far from 10 cent perfect. A recital of Ouchi's errors or truths or suspect generalizat would take more space than lowed. And it is embarrassing t Ouchi's constant notes of self-gratulation or supposed discov he warns to his theme. Ouchi evi ly had time enough to think abo topic, since he started working on cals's project in 1974. A pity he did not devote more to researching and qualifying wh after all, a good thesis. The success of Japanese busin of course, not merely a questio good, intuitive management cohesiveness of Japanese society, factor. It is hard to duplicate where, especially in the United S. So are the hardships of war and c pation, the peculiar character of Japanese company unions, the J nese education system, the gov ment-business relationship and, least of all, a certain sense of pro tion that works for a rather un life style and impels executives, fo ample, to take salary cuts in t times, before passing them o workers. But management is a p good place to begin.

BRIDGE

VERY few partnerships reach the sound slam contract available to North-South on the diagrammed deal. The winners did so in spite of — or perhaps because of — an impertinent opening bid. West's two-heart effort with a five-card suit is a long way from a textbook model, even at favorable vulnerability. The meaning of a cue-bid in this position is a matter of partnership agreement. North bid three hearts to show length in the black suits. East naturally bid four hearts, and South bravely tried four spades. North might have bid six spades directly, since South was unlikely to have more than one heart. But he probed with five diamonds, hoping that South would bid five hearts to show some control in that department. It was East who bid five hearts, and South judged his one-point hand worth a pass. This was encouraging, suggesting some heart control, since a five-spade bid would have been a sign-off. North accordingly bid six spades, and East doubled a little greedily. A trump lead or a diamond lead would have worried South, but West led a club and the play was straightforward. South won in dummy and surrendered a heart. He ruffed the diamond, return in dummy, ruffed a heart and reverted to clubs, ruffing the trump lead. Dummy was entered with trump lead for another heart ruff, the last trump in the closed hand. A diamond ruff followed, and dummy had just enough left to draw remaining trumps from West score two established clubs to in the doubled slam.

North and South were vulnerable. The bidding: West North East 2♥ 3♥ 4♥ Pass 5♦ 5♥ Pass 6♠ 6♠ Pass Pass



# Baseball Parties Meet; Hopes Dim

**United Press International**  
**YORK** — As the major baseball strike dragged on, the possibility of new deals by both sides, representatives of the owners and players ed to get down to serious Wednesday for the first time days.

In the wake of a brief and unproductive meeting Tuesday, negotiator Kenneth Moffett met Wednesday for the first time since the strike, but he said the conversation was unproductive.

There is no "conversation" Tuesday when negotiators returned to the table after a three-day break. In the afternoon, Major League Baseball Executive Director Marvin Miller, the players' chief negotiator, met with the sides used their two-hour meeting to review previous discussions.

Miller would characterize Tuesday's talks as unproductive, but he said he was not discouraged. "I hope we get any converging whatsoever, we probably will continue on into Wednesday night."

Grebe, the owners' primary representative, also indicated serious discussions, which would characterize Tuesday's talks as unproductive, but he said he was not discouraged. "I hope we get any converging whatsoever, we probably will continue on into Wednesday night."

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elaborate, possible new issues in dealing with the strike were discussed Tuesday. "We'll be back and be at it," Grebe said. "We've said all along that this has to be solved at the bargaining table."

Hopes of a speedy settlement, however, remained dim.

**Binding Arbitration Out**

Binding arbitration, suggested as a quick solution to the strike, drew no support from Grebe. Bob Boone of the Philadelphia Phillies, one of the players attending Tuesday's talks, was pessimistic about ending the strike, which has canceled 76 games.

"We're still on strike," said Boone, the National League's representative on a study group that examined the key compensation issues last winter. "There won't be any progress until the strike is over."

Shortstop Mark Belanger of the Baltimore Orioles, another player present Tuesday, implied the continuing strike could complicate issues.

"The owners have been in the same position the last 18 months and they have to get off the dime," said Belanger. "The players will be going on the offense pretty soon. We'll put some demands on the table."

Although the players did not



Sugar Ray Leonard ... Flawed style?

## Red Smith

# A Ugandan Dane in Texas

**New York Times Service**  
**NEW YORK** — Ben Mugimba, the grand wizard of boxing in Kampala, Uganda, has arrived in Houston with all his magical powers intact. Mugimba is a witch doctor who can make rain, stop a tornado or put a curse on an adversary.

He is in Houston to put the evil eye on Sugar Ray Leonard, welterweight champion of the World Boxing Council's planet, who boxes the Ugandan Dane, Ayub Kalule, for the World Boxing Association junior-middleweight title a week from Thursday.

Accompanying Kalule are his wife, Zaida, two trainers, Kalule's personal physician, a masseur and Ove Ovesson, a high school history teacher.

Ovesson is not on hand to enrich Kalule's knowledge of the Schleswig Wars. He is a WBA judge and referee who came on his own as a fight fan.

The other day the party was joined by Mogens Palle, Kalule's manager, and six or eight journalists from Copenhagen.

The masseur is Tage Nielsen, who operates a chain of health clubs all over Denmark. He is a former badminton star who works on the boxer an hour a day, massaging him, he says, from his toes to his crown.

**Invitation From Rudy**

He says he once worked on Rudolf Nureyev in Copenhagen and the dancer suggested that he drop everything and accompany him on tour, but Nielsen didn't want to leave his *helsesstudier* unattended.

It is customary for seconds to lay hands on their fighter between rounds, kneading shoulders and the nape of the neck, slapping biceps and calves. Nielsen says that means nothing; his nimble fingers stimulate muscles and nerves in the legs and upper body.

"Kalule could box 100 rounds with me to keep him refreshed," he says. Which suggests that the ideal opponent for Ayub is not Leonard but Jake Kilrain.

**No Beefsteak**

Kalule is a busy southpaw who grew up in Uganda but fights out of Copenhagen. He is a member of the Baganda, the largest and wealthiest tribe, and speaks, in addition to English and Danish, the tribal languages of Kiganda and Swahili. His people were farmers and fishermen.

Unlike Leonard's most recent opponent, Kalule will not eat two or three steaks after the weigh-in and then complain of stomach cramps. He isn't especially fond of meat and has no taste for junk food. He loves vegetables and the tropical fruits he and his wife find in the Houston markets. A special favorite is *matooke*, made from green bananas.

There is an old story that before Joe Louis's first fight with Max Baer, the German watched him against Paolino Uzuzudun, or maybe Max Baer, and said, "I see something," meaning he had detected a flaw in Joe's style. When they met, Max clubbed Joe with right hands until Louis was finished in the 12th round.

In Houston, Kalule and his trainer, George Krogh, separately watched tapes of Leonard's two bouts with Roberto Duran. Then they conferred. "Did you see what Ray did in the second round?" one asked. The other had, saying, "And how about in the eighth?" They had, or thought they had, both detected the same flaw in Leonard's style.

Perhaps the most attractive feature of the AstroDome card is that it presents both Leonard and Thomas Hearns, the WBA welterweight champion and the puncher most of the boxing public is clamoring to see against Leonard. The pair won't meet next week, though, except socially.

Hearns is defending his share of the title against Pablo Baez of Los Angeles. The fact that Hearns interrupts his training sessions to conduct boxing clinics for Houston kids may be a form of criticism of his opponent.

There is also a 10-rounder between Pepino Cuevas, whom Hearns detached from the half-title in five and a half minutes last August, and Kalule's friend Jorge Haines. Haines, who is being billed as a "puncher's knockout."

Hansen holds the European welterweight title in his 38-year-old paws. He first fought for the European championship nine years ago and was flattened by Robert Menery. He says he is better at 38 than he was at 29 because he is more serious, works harder and has a 28-year-old body.

**Free-Wheeling Plumber**

Hansen is a plumber by trade, a fact that lends itself to sparkling witticisms by fight connoisseurs. A couple of years ago Kalule told him he had a ton of talent but wasn't working at it. Next time he stopped Davey (Boy) Green, qualifying Green to get knocked out by Leonard.

The plumber has an Irish surname named Tjek, who runs on the road with him. Hansen is a cyclist, says that at home he rides 30 miles a day besides doing six miles of roadwork. In a bike race of 30 professionals from Paris to Copenhagen he finished seventh.

Finally, the exciting young Tony Ayala goes 10 rounds or fewer with Jerry Cheatham. Jerry Cheatham is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Cheatham of Phoenix. He is a junior middleweight and Ring Magazine rates him 27th.

## Casey at the Bank?

**By Steve Harvey**  
**Los Angeles Times Service**  
**LOS ANGELES** — "Strike!" the traditional cry of the fire — has now been taken by major-league baseball players, but in a different way. The players so far have signed the sign an agreement would enable a team to five additional compensation for free agents no longer let contract who are signed a different team.

I Ernest Lawrence Thayer writing his 1888 classic, *Casey at the Bat*, today, he might have called it "Casey at Bank."

The Mudville team convened a less-than-cheery note; a ball count was 10 to 10, a five men left to vote.

Kevin poked his blow-dry and Murphy did the same, a sickly silence fell upon the paws of the game.

It was next to ballot, then the old Mahoney, he had just gone bankrupt, and a crowd gathered.

When the dust had lifted and the crowd saw what occurred, a note was 12 to 12, with one in not yet heard.

From 5,000 throats or more rose a hoarse yell, rumbled through the valley, it took in the field, knocked against the mountain it sailed beyond the bay; the mighty players' rep, I came to have his say, ere was pride in Casey's bears as he flashed the fans a smile.

In Casey's manner as he med up his file, one ever doubted that this would find a reason somewhere in his briefcase to be the baseball season.

Management would its pitch, it hurtling through the air, they simply studied it in mighty grandeur there, agerly his gold chains, he why shook his head, to compensation, he deared, "Let's strike!" his agent said.

With a smile of Christian pity, Casey's visage shone, a settled the turmoil and prodded the bargaining go on.

## New Boy Brooks Already Shaking Up the NHL

**By Gerald Eskrenazi**  
**New York Times Service**  
**NEW YORK** — It was only his first day on the job, but Herb Brooks — the new coach of the New York Rangers — was already giving a pep talk.

They listened, many of them nervous about what he was saying. "There are traditions in the National Hockey League, niceties to be observed. Why, this man (an American, yet) was virtually a blasphemer. And no one had ever pushed them like this — demanding, probing, questioning."

Brooks was not talking to his players. He was speaking to all the other coaches in the NHL at their annual meeting in Montreal last week.

**Questions**

"Do we speak with one voice?" Brooks asked them. "Do we have a policy? Are we organized?"

He was astounded to discover the answer to all those questions was "No" — that, in fact, some coaches were fearful of alienating the owners if their demands were aired.

"Hey, I didn't want to say too much," Brooks said later, saying a lot. "I should just be listening. 'I mean, who are you?' A good question, and typical Brooks."

For while downplaying his feelings, or his role, he reveals what he wants to without putting himself on the line. He thus has the advantage of pretending he's saying one thing while his listener knows what is really on Brooks' mind.

**Different Style**

Brooks barely conceals his feelings about the National Hockey League and its style. For better or worse, the Rangers next season will be playing Brooks' style of hockey. But it was obvious at the meeting that there are others who will be watching the Rangers with a smirk, waiting for the fall.

"We'll see what happens when Herb Brooks plays with the big boys," said a member of the Philadelphia Flyers' front office.

"This isn't the Olympics," a St. Louis Blues official said.

And both laughed over their drinks.

The Olympics. The Games remain fixed in people's minds. It was an historic moment. People happily recall what they were doing that February day in 1980 when the United States won the hockey championship and Brooks, its coach, finally permitted himself a smile behind the bench.

office. My mother was a proofreader. My father really didn't work in a factory, but he saw to it that I worked in a factory.

"He believed that if you didn't do it literally, then you must do it figuratively. What I want the Rangers to epitomize is that they're reporting to work."

**Anti-Sass**

John Mariucci, a Minnesota legend, was Brooks' college coach. Mariucci doesn't like the way some of today's youngsters talk back to their coaches. "One of those kids ever did that with me, he'd get this," says Mariucci, his fist describing an apparatus.

But Mariucci loves talking about Brooks. "Herbie was a great skater, a very quiet type of guy. Somewhere along the line, there's been a change. The other thing with Herbie — I wouldn't say he's stubborn, but he gets angry and he burns his bridges."

"He quit as freshman coach at Minnesota because they didn't pay his way to the finals. The price he paid — but that's Herbie."

There is something else about Brooks that Mariucci wants to talk

## Rogers, Saints Agree to Terms

**The Associated Press**  
**NEW ORLEANS** — Heisman Trophy winner George Rogers signed a three-year National Football League contract with the New Orleans Saints Wednesday, commanding the highest salary ever paid a Saint rookie, said team owner John Mecom Jr. The South Carolina running back was the first player in the 1981 NFL draft.

Neither Mecom, Rogers nor the player's agent, Jack Mills, would discuss the contract's terms, but it was apparently in excess of the \$250,000 a year offered by the Montreal Alouettes of the Canadian Football League.

"It's a long-term contract — three years — with an option," Mecom said, adding that the Saints never said a rookie would. "That's the cost of doing business in this day and time," Mecom said.

Said Coach Bum Phillips: "He wanted us and we wanted him. He got a good contract and we got a good contract."

Mecom said he never really thought that Rogers would wind up at Montreal. "I know a bit about what goes on there," Mecom said. "It would be something like a dog chasing a car. If he caught it, he couldn't drive it."

The Saints set an NFL record for utility last season, and some fans began wearing paper bags over their heads at games. "If I see anybody with a paper sack over his head," Rogers said, "I'll tell him he's missing the game."



Herb Brooks ... I am a flag-waver.

## Chinese Women Beat U.S. Basketball Team

**United Press International**  
**PEKING** — The Chinese national women's basketball team defeated a U.S. all-star team, 74-64, Tuesday in the first of three games in here, the Xinhua news agency reported. Liu Min and Song Xiaohu both scored 14 points for the winners. Marsha Cowart of East Tennessee University had a game-high 20.

Trailing 35-34 at halftime, the Americans took a 40-37 lead early in the second half, but the Chinese went into a half-court press to regain the lead at 45-44 and held on from there.

## Cubs: Old Whines in New Battle

**By Ira Berkow**  
**New York Times Service**  
**NEW YORK** — "Will the lady lost her nine children at the park please pick them up quickly? They are beating the 10-0, in the seventh."

On there was this refrain, belittled Oscar Zamora, a relief pitcher of the 1970s: "The pitch is so fat the ball hits the bat and it's Zamora."

It only has Chicago Cub fans led during the last several years over their terrible teams, have been tortured by jokes lities equally bad.

This season has been no different in early April, the Cubs went 12-game losing streak. And it not until May 25 — nearly two his into the season — that won their ninth game, finally ing Los Angeles Dodger pitcher-mando Valenzuela in the vicolum.

Cubs have not won a pennance since 1945 — those 36 years a National League record, team in existence in 1945 won at least one, and some s not in existence then have (the New York Mets, born in New York two).

id for 20 years, from 1947 igh 1966, the Cubs finished in second division, another d.

e closest the Cubs have come nning a flag of any sort since d War II was in 1969, when led the Eastern Division for of the season. At the end, fell apart like a cheap suit, ing second to the "miracle

one is quite certain why the have been so bad so long. n Santo, their onetime third

baseball, said that playing in Wrigley Field was detrimental. "It is the only park in the major leagues without lights," he said. "And playing in the sun day after day wears you out over the long haul."

And Joe Peppone, once a Cub first baseman, noted that having events off at home gave the player more time to spend in honky-tonks, another impediment to success.

It is on management, however, that the greatest share of the blame has been placed. The Cubs have simply not had the quality players of other teams.

They have had some outstanding ones — Andy Pafko, Ernie Banks, Billy Williams and Bill Buckner, to name four who have played in the last 36 years. But not enough.

**Final Solution**

To compensate, the Cubs have tried a variety of unusual moves. Once they experimented with a system of rotating eight managers in a season, choosing from among the minor leagues and the coaching staff. That bombed.

Another time, Charlie Grimm, the manager, was traded for Lou Boudreau, the team's broadcaster. That flopped.

Finally management has done the last thing it could think of. It got rid of itself. The Cubs were sold Tuesday for \$20.5 million by William Wrigley to the Tribune Co., parent of The Chicago Tribune and The Daily News in New York.

The sale ends 60 years of Cub ownership by the Wrigley family. William Wrigley bought the club in 1921. His son, Philip K. Wrigley, took over as major stockholder

in 1932 and held the team until his death in 1977, when his son Bill took over.

The Cubs of those days were a grand team — in 1932 they played the Yankees in the World Series — and followed in a grand tradition: The oldest continuous team in major league baseball, they date from 1876, and they were winners of 16 pennants before falling upon their still-unended hard times.

They had legendary teams and legendary players: The 1906 team — under "the peerless leader" Frank Chance — won 116 games, still a record, and the double play combination of Tinkers-to-Evers-to-Chance was immortalized in song and eventually in the Hall of Fame.

The Cubs won pennants with such players as Rogers Hornsby and Gabby Hartnett and Dizzy Dean and Kiki Cuyler and Riggs Stephenson.

Then something somewhere went wrong. Perhaps, as some said, Phil Wrigley was to blame, because he seemed so removed from the team. He did not come to a game in 10 years because, he said, "I don't like photographers bothering me — they usually get me with my mouth open."

Yet he maintained Wrigley Field so well (the park was built in 1916) that it is still one of baseball's most beautiful; with its vine-covered outfield walls and red-brick symmetry, it remains one of the most enjoyable in which to watch a ballgame.

For all that, Cub fans still hunger for a winner. They never seem to lose hope.

Recently the Cubs, incredibly, went on a three-game winning streak, which was halted by the baseball strike. It's called Cubs' luck.

"My father was a blue-collar worker." Blue-collar? "Well, he worked in

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PEOPLE: Jane Fonda, Tom Hayden Take Detour to Lesotho

Actress Jane Fonda, denied a visa to visit South Africa, arrived in Maseru, Lesotho, to VIP treatment and a meeting with the prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan. Because the activist actress and husband Tom Hayden had no visas for white-ruled South Africa, they had to spend Tuesday night in transit at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport.

The Sequoia, the presidential yacht used by Jimmy Carter, is returning to Washington for President Reagan's use. Reagan had expressed an interest in obtaining a yacht since taking office, but he declined to use federal money to buy one. Checks with the Navy and other agencies disclosed no available boats and the search had been discontinued.

Starting First Film After Reagan Shooting, She Feels Movies 'Do as Much Good as Anything'

porters with disarming calm, displaying none of the anxiety that might be expected of an 18-year-old far from home who had innocently become the apparent inspiration for an assassination attempt on the president.

She completed her exams in mid-May and two weeks later reported to the Hollywood location of her next movie, "O'Hara's Wife." The film is a sort of Capra-esque fantasy about a workaholic lawyer whose late wife's spirit comes back to goad him into chucking it all and taking a trip around the world.

She had worked with William Bartman, director of "O'Hara's Wife," on a film last year ("Carny") and there's a sense of wanting to work with your friends, people you know for professionals. There are too many people running around that aren't!

"I loved this year [at Yale]," she said between scenes. "I think it's the best time I ever had in my life, the most memorable experience I've ever had." She said she was eager to return to her literature studies in the fall.

She considered, reluctantly at first, the connection between her role in "Taxi Driver" and Hinkley. No, she said, it had not given her second thoughts about her craft.

"Films do as much good as they do anything," she said. "It's like a piece of sculpture: Anything you do can be interpreted in any way that the human mind feels necessary. I mean, I could kick a can and something could happen. Or, if I wrote on the walls, it could have an adverse effect on somebody. You don't censor art because of anything like that."

And another thing is, exactly how much involvement filmmaking had to do with any of this has been purely a function of the media's imagination. Political figures are actors, too, they're characters, and they have as much influence over what people do emotionally.

"I don't want to get into 'Taxi Driver,' but I think it's one of the finest films that's ever been made in America, one of the most important films. It's a statement about America. About violence. About loneliness. About anonymity. Some of the best works are those that have tried to even imitate that kind of film, that kind of style. It's just a classic."

If Foster seems defensive about "Taxi Driver," it's because she considers her role in Martin Scorsese's 1976 film as the pivotal development in her career. She was 12 years old and hovering between fairly standard juvenile roles and a career as a serious actress when Scorsese cast her as the street-hardened little hooker, Iris.

"When I did 'Taxi Driver,' it was the first time I ever did a role that was a little out of character. I felt when I came home every day that I'd really accomplished something. We were working improvisation — half that film was improvised. And for the first time, I saw a real technique, a real style. So, I guess at that point, I might have said, 'This isn't all fun and games, this is for real. This is work.'"

Foster has been working in front of cameras for 15 of her 18 years. "The way she got into it was kind of a freak," said her sister, Connie, 26, Jodie's stand-in on "O'Hara's Wife," as Foster did a scene for the unscripted time. "She went along with our brother, Buddy, on a commercial audition." Connie said. It was to have been Buddy's job, but Jodie won it.

"She was always a real character," Connie said, "and she was always really smart." Too smart, thought Jodie's mother, Brandy, to stay interested in conventional schools. Jodie was enrolled at the Lycée Francais in Los Angeles and quickly became fluent in French. The French touch helped sell the Foster image to reporters at Cannes in 1976, where the 13-year-old Foster was the hit of the festival.

Firmly guided by her mother, Jodie's career blossomed. She had 13 feature credits and two series done by her 14th birthday. "I've been working for so long, preparing for so long, that all of this is a natural progression. It's something I've been surrounded by all my life. It's not new to me. I mean, for me, this is home."

Even though her mother, a former publicist who raised her children alone, exerted a firm influence on her career, Foster said, "I always knew what was going on. There never seemed to be a choice for me. It's always what I've wanted to do. I could never think of not doing it."

In an Adult World Being out there, having to deal with success and failure in an adult world for most of her life, helped fashion the Foster image. "When the Hinkley incident exploded this spring, she said, "There were people there to help me out — my mother happened to be in town at the time, and she's a very warm, very secure person."

"But there are a lot of things that happen in my life that — I don't know, I guess it should scare me, but it doesn't scare me." That composure, that unyielding cool, is an element of her character that Foster finds most pleasing.

There are certain things that the camera picks up. People who are really crazy, you can see that, too. It just shows on film. "If there's one motif that I think you can pick up on in everything I do, it's that I'm never wishy-washy. I may be a dumb blonde, but I'm a strong dumb blonde. It's part of what I want to portray, that strength."

"People don't want to watch weak people."

Jodie Foster

By Peter Boyer Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES — Her most valued screen persona is that of the Tough Kid, the girl with the face of an angel and a heart of steel. It's an identity she nourished in films ranging from grim street dramas ("Taxi Driver") to Disney frolic ("Candlefoot Square").

Jodie Foster means to extend that identity to real life, having you believe that despite a year that has been anything but a frolic, it is business as usual for the Tough Kid.

"Yeah," she said with a shrug. "I never planned any drastic changes. The attitude fits the pale blue eyes, the husky, even voice, the practiced smile: aloof, extremely bright, steadfast on course. If it's a pose, she has it down pat."

Two months ago, Foster was leading the relatively quiet life of a freshman at Yale, preparing for exams, fretting over a few extra pounds (enough to ask that her picture not be taken) — "being a regular kid," she says.

Then, in the late hours of March 30, she found herself suddenly thrust to center stage of a bizarre, fantasy-webbed assassination attempt against President Reagan.

Foster's name became bound with that of John Warnock Hinckley Jr., the man accused of trying to kill Reagan. Authorities said that Hinckley worshipped Foster from afar. Others have suggested that her role in "Taxi Driver" — in which she played a teen-age prostitute, the object of a would-be assassin's infatuation — may have set off the shooting attack.

After the shooting, Jodie Foster shifted back into the Tough Kid mode, handing reporters with disarming calm, displaying none of the anxiety that might be expected of an 18-year-old far from home who had innocently become the apparent inspiration for an assassination attempt on the president.

She completed her exams in mid-May and two weeks later reported to the Hollywood location of her next movie, "O'Hara's Wife." The film is a sort of Capra-esque fantasy about a workaholic lawyer whose late wife's spirit comes back to goad him into chucking it all and taking a trip around the world.

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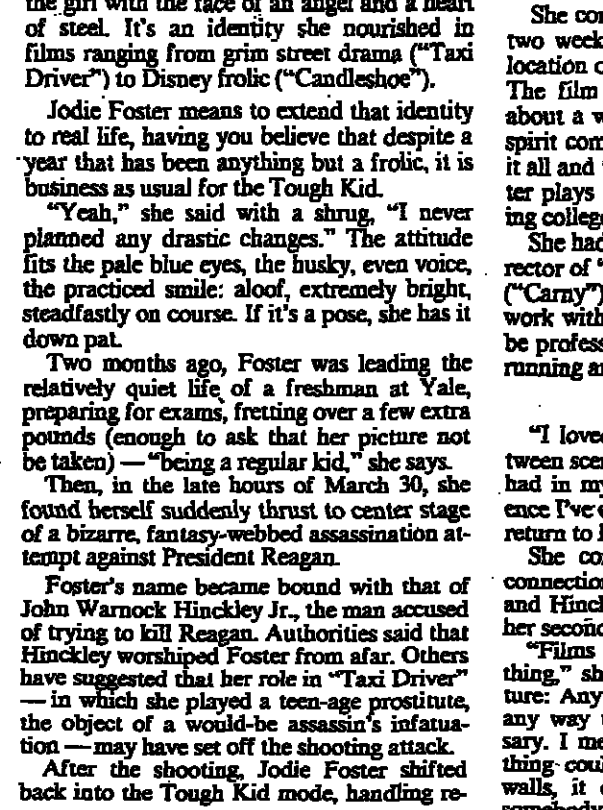
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Actress Foster: Tough-kid image.

A Wedding Present, Shingle by Shingle

WASHINGTON — The June weddings are upon us, and once again everyone is trying to figure out what kind of present to buy newweds. Many friends call up parents and ask, "What do Philippe and Jacqueline need?"

The Wheelans have decided to deal with their son's wedding in a very practical way.

Phil, the father, said to the first caller, "They would like a window. Yes, that's right, a window. No, it doesn't have to have shutters. Any window will do."

He told the next caller, "The kids would love a chimney attached to a fireplace."

The third caller was told, "They're dying for a linoleum floor. I don't have the measurements, but I'll let you know in a few days."

Phil marked everything down in a book. "I asked him what he was buying? 'Well, people want to buy the kids something they need. What they need is a house. So every time someone calls, Sherry or I ask the person for a piece of it. We've got 12 windows promised, a ceiling for the living room, two walls for the bedroom and light fixtures for the bathroom. If the Holbrookes come through with a front door, and the Evanses with a kitchen door, we can start telling people they want a roof."

"A roof is an awfully expensive wedding present," I said. "We don't expect one person to give them a roof. But if we can talk 10 of our friends into going in on it, we can get Philippe's aunt to give them the shingles."

"That's a great idea. What happens if a wedding present arrives without consultation with you?" "We take it back to the store and exchange it for a bag of cement."

The phone rang again. Phil said, "Yeah, it was a lovely wedding wasn't it? What do you want? I heard Jacqueline say she'd love a kitchen sink. What pattern? It really doesn't matter as long as it goes with her cabinets. No, she doesn't have cabinets yet, but we're still hoping. That's very nice of you."

Phil made a notation in the book. "We're moving right along." "Once you get all the stuff together, who is going to build the house?" "Philippe's best man and ushers said they would work on it. My present to the kids is to pay someone to supervise the construction. It will be a rather prickly job since most of the presents won't match."

"Anyone come through with lumber yet?" "People have offered, but we're holding out for redwood. I think Jacqueline's uncle might come across, because she's his favorite niece. The Dumbartons sent us a stack of plywood, and Sherry was outraged because we gave them a Cuisinart when their son got married."

The phone rang again. "Teresa," said Phil, "how nice of you to call. No, the kids have linens and towels. Someone beat you to a coffee-maker. They also have an electric can opener. Let me think, what do they really want? I've got it! A gas furnace. They told me that if anyone asks just to say the thing that would make them the happiest would be a nice furnace to keep their love warm. Thanks for calling. Teresa, and best to Joe."

"I didn't think she'd for it," Phil said, writing it in his book. "Particularly because when their kids got married we only gave them bookends. By the way, what brings you over?"

"Ann asked me to drop by and find out what Philippe and Jacqueline needed but I see they have everything, so we'll just get them a nice pair of candlesticks."

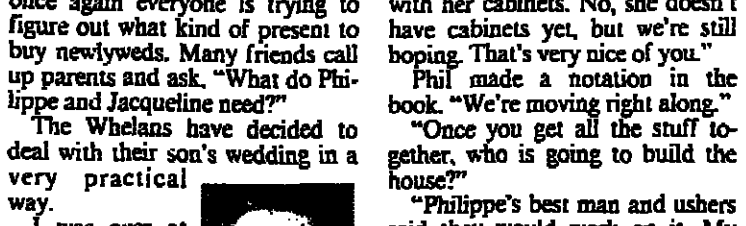
"They don't want candlesticks," Phil said. "They want a lot." "A lot of what?" "A lot to build their house on. It doesn't have to be a large one. Philippe hates to mow the lawn."

"Can I think about it?" "Sure. Talk it over with Ann. Women know more than men do about what kind of lots newlyweds want."

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